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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,

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JANUARY, 1838.

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ART. I.—*Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq.* London: Duncan.  
1837. Vols. III. and IV.

THE writings of Alexander Knox have already occupied a goodly amount of our pages. Two of our articles have already been devoted to an examination of the character of his mind, and the somewhat eccentric trajectory of his thoughts; and we are now invited to further excursions with him into the loftier regions of theological speculation. The materials of the work now before us were found by the editor among Mr. Knox's papers, not indeed definitively arranged, or wrought up, for publication; but, nevertheless, in a condition which may help to complete the portraiture of his intellect, already before the public in the former volumes of his *Remains*.

It will, doubtless, be remembered by our readers that the prominent peculiarities of Mr. Knox, as a theologian, are to be found, first, in his meditations on the ways of Divine Providence; and secondly, in his somewhat startling expositions of what we are accustomed to hear spoken of as the test of a church's stability or decline,—the great doctrine of Justification. The notions put forth by him on the latter subject, more especially, would appear to have come across the path of our Protestant Divinity with a disturbing influence similar to that of a comet upon the orbit of our globe. They perplexed the hearts of many with "fear of change," and convulsion. It was even doubted whether they might not exert a fearful tendency to hurry us back into the darkest realms of popery and superstition. By some, it is true, the *nucleus* of this strange luminary was supposed to be quite as unsubstantial, as its path was devious. But the more general impression was, that the "extravagant and erring" light boded

little but disaster to Christendom, and threatened a fearful dislocation to all the grander symmetries of the Reformed Faith. And the consequence was, not only deep "searchings of heart" among thoughtful and sober-minded men, but, also,—we are grieved to add,—occasionally, certain abusive and virulent adjurations against the wild and dangerous intruder. In the midst of all this commotion, we have contrived to possess our souls in peace. The public are aware that we have, by no means, been disposed to accompany the wanderer, with much complacency, throughout all the irregularities of his course. In plain terms, we have gently, but distinctly, protested against his favourite views on the subject of justification; and we have, further, declared our inaptitude for comprehending, in the whole of its transcendental compass, his theory of God's providential administration. But still, we have always been very much at ease respecting the issue of the debate. We can scarcely muster an apprehension of portentous danger from the meditations of a recluse and solitary thinker, whose life exhibited the pattern of every Christian grace. Such a man, even in his wildest aberrations, may chance to recall the public attention to certain portions of obsolete and long-forgotten truth. And, wherever the truth may have been forgotten, or misapprehended, by himself, the error is sure to encounter, on the instant, a powerfully neutralizing process, in the vigilant and conscientious hostility of those, who are very jealous for the received verity.

But further,—closely connected with Mr. Knox's speculations on the ways of God in justifying the believer, was his mode of contemplating the one great Sacrifice once offered, for the redemption of the human race. According to the notions usually entertained by the Protestant Churches, the *cross* of Christ is the grand and central object in their system of theology. To the eye of faith, as purged and purified by the Reformation, the cross is like the brazen serpent in the Wilderness, the perpetual sight of which can alone disarm, of their fiery and destructive venom, the secret enemies who lie in wait to "assault and hurt the soul." In tribulation or in wealth, in health or sickness, in life or death,—the cross is the sign on which the gaze of the believer is fixed, as affording the only certain presage of victory to the faithful soldier and servant of the Captain of our salvation. When the heart is oppressed by manifold temptations, this is the *heavenly vision*, which brings back thoughts of fortitude and comfort, and hopes *full of immortality*. In the season of complacency and peace, this is the spectacle which reminds the slumberer of the perils of security. Thus it is, we believe, for the most part, with those who profess the truth for which our martyr bishops poured



out their souls unto death. But this, it must be acknowledged, was not precisely the view of redemption which presented itself to the meditations of Alexander Knox. The cross was *not* the central object of his divinity. In his theological *panorama*, if we may so express it, the cross seems to have held a somewhat remote and subordinate position. It appears, there, fast by the entrance into the kingdom of God, instead of being lifted up, on the heights of the *acropolis*. In other words, his chief reliance was, not so much on what Christ had, once for all, effected for the whole human race, as upon that which Christ stands pledged to accomplish within the heart of every true believer. By the grand propitiation—he conceived—the whole world was placed within the possibility of salvation. To him, therefore, the blood of the covenant, although it spoke of far better things than were ever uttered by the tongue of man, yet spoke only of redemption *offered*; while the work of the Spirit in the human soul, spoke not only of redemption *offered*, but of redemption *realized*. To express his sentiments, in the words of his editor,—“for the in-  
 “estimable benefit of *salvability*, he was deeply thankful. For  
 “the *far mightier* work by which he was personally transferred  
 “into a state of salvation, he was impressed with still deeper  
 “emotions of gratitude. But, believing that an uncorrupt life  
 “was the preliminary, or concomitant, to the blessedness of *dwell-*  
 “*ling in God’s tabernacle*, and, still more, of *resting on his holy*  
 “*hill*,—and that *every man who hath this hope in him, purifieth*  
 “*himself, even as he is pure*,—believing this, he watched, with  
 “eager solicitude, the variations of his inward life, and trem-  
 “bled, not without some portion of a faithlessness, which he  
 “condemned, so often as he felt any passing cloud interpose be-  
 “tween the fruit of his maturing grace, and that fuller lustre  
 “which, at other times, beamed on him from the Sun of Righte-  
 “ousness.”

Now, in the estimate of any one who might intimately know the sensitive integrity and shrinking purity of the man, all this would amount to little more than the expression of an intense and sleepless anxiety to *make his calling and election sure*. In the judgment of others, it might be thought to imply a want of that keen and clear-sighted faith which can look, through the darkest shadows of temptation, towards the countenance of Him who is invisible. By persons of this stamp, the self-distrust of Knox might be thought to dishonour the faithfulness of God. According to their conceptions, the cross of Christ is the emblem and the pledge both of pardon and of peace. It not only ministers an *abundant entrance* into the kingdom of grace, but it is moreover the constant and unfailling refuge of all who have been

admitted within the precincts; and who, being there, retain a deep habitual sense of their manifold and sore necessities. For A. Knox, however, the *blood of sprinkling* is supposed to have done little more, than to satisfy him, that the destroyer had once been averted from his dwelling: and to have given him no distinct assurance that a preservative and healing power was constantly present with him. For the evidences, and the indications, of this blessed security, he was perpetually searching the depths of his own heart, and scrutinizing the tenor of his own life: and, hence it probably is, that he has been thought by some to have encouraged a relapse into the covenant of works,—and to have done all that man can do to rob the Christian of his most precious hope, and to spread the darkness of a disastrous eclipse between this fallen world and the brightness of the Sun of Righteousness.

We cannot confidently presume to specify how close an approximation there may have been between the views of Mr. Knox, and the formidable maxims which, of late, have been propounded, in some quarters, touching the doctrine of repentance. We presume, however, that he would have scarcely been prepared to affirm that repentance for sins committed subsequently to baptism, is insufficient to reinstate the offender on the firm ground of God's covenanted mercies. Neither can we venture, within the compass of these pages, to assume the awful task of arbitrating between the opinions which are now in conflict throughout *this* region of our theology. It is more to our present purpose to observe, that they who are most deeply affected with a distrust of Mr. Knox's divinity, have shown themselves disposed to bring the question to a practical issue. In the spirit of the *inductive* philosophy, of which we now hear so much, they have been for comparing the theory with the phenomena; and their report is, that the theory and the phenomena are at variance with each other. What the theory is, we have endeavoured to show. What the phenomena are, the adversaries have been at some pains to tell us. Their reasoning, if we rightly understand it, is this,—if the principles of Alexander Knox were in conformity with God's revealed truth, they *must* have yielded him the fruits of peace and comfort, in his life, and in his death. But, his principles yielded him neither consolation nor support. They were to him like the staff of a broken reed. The conclusion is obvious. His house must have been built upon the sand. He never can have touched the foundation of the everlasting Rock.

That Mr. Knox himself, towards the close of his life, was haunted by a painful consciousness of the imperfection of his own theory, has, of late, been currently, and very confidently, rumoured in what is called the religious world. The report appears to have gathered form and substance in the course of the

last year. In the month of August, 1836, (we borrow the statement of the editor of these volumes), an article appeared in the *Christian Observer*, the object of which was to inform the public, on the authority of one of Mr. Knox's friends, that, previously to his death, an important change had taken place in his "views;"—that he began to suspect that these "views" had not been "*sufficiently evangelical*";—and that, to this cause, he was disposed to trace the then existing depression of his mind." The friend of Mr. Knox, on whose authority this statement got into circulation, was Mr. Kelly. And it further appears, that the surmises of Mr. Kelly had their basis, chiefly, on the following circumstances, which occurred a short time previously to the death of Mr. Knox. "Before you go"—said Mr. Knox to his friend, after an interesting conversation on spiritual matters—"before you go, you must offer up a prayer for me." The prayer was accordingly offered up; and it was conceived, as Mr. Kelly reports, in conformity with the principles—the *evangelical* principles—which sustained his (Mr. Kelly's) own mind. And, after the prayer was finished—we are told—Mr. Knox, once and again, cordially expressed his thanks. The inference is irresistible. The mind of Mr. Knox must evidently at that moment have been in perfect and entire harmony with what are called *evangelical* principles!

Now—without the slightest desire or intention to make this an opportunity of sitting in judgment on the controversy between *evangelical* principles, and any other principles—we must frankly confess that it has never been our chance to meet with a logical process much more unsatisfactory than the above! A Christian man, on the supposed approach of his last hour, requests a friend to pray for him, in his presence and hearing. The prayer, we are to presume, is conceived in a spirit of fervent piety; and uttered in a tone of profound sympathy with the necessities of the sufferer. It comprises many topics of comfort and edification, which are as the balm from Gilead to the soul of the dying man. And who would ever dream that the dying man could be, in the very crisis of his expected change, so possessed with the passion for theological analysis, as to exclaim,—“Your preparation, on the whole, is salutary and comfortable; but, still, I cannot but detect in it certain ingredients by which my palate is grievously offended. There is too much in it of a certain savour which may be agreeable to senses exercised in the discernment of good and evil by the discipline of a particular school. My religious tastes have been differently formed. And therefore, though your friendly and charitable intentions are entitled to my best acknowledgments, I must beg of you to dismiss all hope of success in the attempt to number me among your proselytes.” Oh! how little do they, who reason after

the fashion of Mr. Kelly,—how little do they know of the eagerness with which the fainting heart seizes on the grand and simple verities of the Christian faith, when the hour of death is at hand, and the day of judgment immediately in prospect! How little do they know of the distaste with which the spiritual palate then recoils from the acrid savours of dissension and debate! How little do they know of the predominance which the spirit of love begins to exercise over every faculty of the chastened soul, in that solemn season when flesh and heart are failing, and when Faith is about to be lost in sight, and Hope in fruition. The inference drawn by this worthy and exemplary man, from the cordial acknowledgments of his dying friend, is, that “he had found his theories, however ingenious, fail him in the hour of need.” Our inference, on the contrary, is, that the expiring Christian seized on every word from the lips of his brother in Christ, which might chance to be in harmony with his own views and feelings,—that he could not suffer his thoughts, or his emotions, or his failing strength, to run to waste in fruitless discussion on points of difference between them,—and that he poured out his heart in thankfulness for the kindly ministrations of a righteous and a faithful friend. Why,—we can even imagine that it would be no ordinary blessing to hear, by our dying bed, the orisons of a Pascal, or a Fenelon, or of any one resembling them,—albeit they might be tainted, more or less, by error or by superstition. The time would be much too short, and much too awful, for disputation. The error and the superstition, therefore, we should quietly and secretly reject. The fervent prayer of faith, and the blessed aspirations of love, we should receive into our hearts with comfort and with gratitude.

Let it be again remembered, the question at this moment before us, is *not* whether the opinions of Mr. Kelly or of Mr. Knox were sound or unsound. The sole question is, whether Mr. Knox was ever driven to a persuasion of the dangers and the treacheries of his own scheme of belief, and whether he was ever impelled to take refuge in the sanctuary of that system, which, nearly all his life long, he had been declaring to be in itself erroneous, narrow and insecure. Towards the settlement of this question, the scene above described—in our judgment at least—does absolutely nothing! But, it seems, there is other evidence behind. It has been discovered that Mr. Knox was subject to a distressing fluctuation of spirits; that his dejection of mind was, at times, almost insupportable; and that this heaviness of heart became more severe as the period of his dissolution drew nigh. And from these premises, the evangelical inquisitors have leaped to the conclusion that his doctrinal opinions must have been sapless, innutritious, and even positively unwhole-

some. The children of the chosen generation, it is contended, are never *lean from day to day*, in the midst of the plenty of their father's house. There is no pining or languishment with them that feed upon the true and living bread. If the soul thrives not, when provided with these measureless bounties, it cannot be but that it must have contracted a morbid liking for the poor meals of the outcast prodigal, and have been content to starve upon husk and refuse! And, truly, if the theology of the patient were as meagre and unsatisfactory as the logic and the philosophy of his judges, little would have been the wonder, had he, indeed, gradually sunk into a state of mental and spiritual atrophy. A sort of *mesenteric* decline must, we should apprehend, have been the inevitable consequence. Heaven mend the reasoning faculties of these worthy men! Their *inductive* apparatus seems to be deplorably in need of completion, or repair. Their argument is this,—a thoughtful and religious man is afflicted with fits of depression; *therefore*, his religious principles must have been insufficient for his support. Now, it so happens, that this same thoughtful and religious man was, also, notoriously blessed with many a long interval of serenity and joy; and, sometimes, experienced what may, with little exaggeration, be called “prelibations and antepasts of heaven.” What, then, is to hinder his friends from contending, quite as confidently, that he must have been in possession of the secret of that *peace which passeth understanding*. It is true, that the presumption, in either case, might chance to be fallacious. But we are quite unable to discern—(if *any* such induction is to be resorted to)—why the former of these inferences is at all more entitled than the latter, to be received as legitimate and philosophical.

Our own persuasion, however, is, that the occasional depression had, in this case, scarcely more connexion with the religious principles than the sufferings of a gouty or dyspeptic man are connected with his political principles, or with his literary tastes and habits. No person can have looked into the biography and correspondence of Alexander Knox, without perceiving that a sensitively nervous constitution, was his melancholy inheritance. He brought it with him into the world. From his youth up, he suffered its terrors, with a troubled and distracted mind. The malady, doubtless, helped to drive him from the world, and to disqualify him for *doing business in the great waters* of public life. It made him a solitary thinker, whose chief occupation it was to *commune with his own heart within his chamber, and to be still*. That his temperament, therefore, would occasionally, tinge his religion with its own dull and turbid suffusions, we can easily enough believe to be true. But, that his religion produced, or

aggravated, the melancholic complexion of his physical economy, appears to us no better than a rash and baseless hypothesis. We do verily believe, on the contrary, that, let the chief employment of his thoughts have been what it might,—whether literature, or politics, or religion,—the imperfections of his nervous structure must, still, have converted his life into a long disease. Nay, more,—we are profoundly convinced that, but for his religion, his days and nights would have been overclouded by deeper and more “thick-coming” shadows of dejection.

We do not know whether the sufferer will be allowed by the College of Physicians, who have had his case so long before them, to speak for himself, touching the cause of his own symptoms, and feelings, and experiences. But, be this as it may, the public ought to know that he *has* spoken, very distinctly, and very confidently. Hear his own words, in October 1829:—“It is “curious,” he writes, “what a difference there is between nervousness of the severest kind, and real morbid melancholy. “Of the latter, I believe, I have not a particle. Yet, the former “brings sensations, which, while they last, are too much of the “same overwhelming nature. But then, even while they last, “they *consciously* arise from the state of the body, and the mind “feels it could be as cheerful as ever, were it not borne down by “its diseased companion.”—“I never had a thought of deeming “my interior distresses as tinctured with religious melancholy. “I have regarded my case, and do regard it, merely as a nervous “indisposition.”—“My mental discomforts are not such as to “awaken religious terrors, except *that*, of my nervous distresses “rising above patient endurance. I believe I may truly say that “this is my *sole* religious uneasiness. And this I feel only in times “of increased suffering.”—“This I will venture to say, that my “depressions are strictly those of disease; and that real mental “distress, of a religious nature, has no share in the matter. I “trust there is not a particle of religious melancholy in the “whole course of my painful feelings.”—(*Editor’s Preface*, vol. iii. pp. xxi. xxii.)

If then Mr. Knox may be allowed to know any thing of his own case, there is an end of the matter. The utmost extent of his religious depression amounted simply to this,—that, at times, he was tempted to doubt whether the misery, inflicted on him by the derangement of his nervous system, might not be almost too much for his endurance; and so, might betray him into eruptions of impatience dishonourable to his Christian profession. Precisely the same doubts might, occasionally, haunt a religious man, who might happen to be sorely tormented with rheumatism or sciatica. If such doubts indicate any thing peculiar in his

spiritual condition, they indicate, surely, the keenness of his religious sensibilities. They *can* indicate nothing relative to the soundness or unsoundness of his religious persuasion. We find, however, that previously to this period, certain persons had been on the watch for every symptom which might seem to intimate that Mr. Knox's religion was a religion of despair. That the eye of jealous observation was upon him, appears from a letter addressed to him, in 1829, by his faithful and devoted friend, the Rev. Charles Forster. "There is one point," Mr. Forster writes, "on which I have, for some time, wished to put you on your guard. It is this: when labouring under nervous depression, be cautious to whom you communicate your uncomfortable physical feelings. To our knowledge they have been misrepresented, as though they arose from erroneousness in your views of Christianity. More than a year ago, excellent ——— apprized us of a report, which had been industriously circulated among his evangelical friends, that Mr. Knox was labouring under a kind of religious despondency, owing to the unsoundness of his system; which, to use their phraseology, left him without a Saviour. ——— at once repelled the insinuation, and flew to us for authority to contradict it. This was, at once, given; and we accounted for the misrepresentation very much in the tenor of your last letter." The reply of Knox to this communication ought to set the matter at rest for ever. "The sentiments recorded in your two notes are of great consequence, as safeguards against mistake, misrepresentation, and, (it may be feared), in some quarters, too willing aspersions on the part of others. For, certain it is, you had spoken with some who *could not*, or would not understand you. From what we have heard incidentally, I have little doubt that, when beyond the reach of contradiction, those would be found in readiness who would not scruple to maintain, what they had previously circulated, that Mr. Knox had lived to repent and deplore his mistaken views of Christianity. To do this, I thank God, you have completely put out of their power; or, if the attempt were to be made, it would turn to their shame." (*Editor's Preface*, vol. iii. pp. xxii. xxiii.) From all which it is abundantly manifest that, up to this time, no shadow of mutability had passed across the writer's mind; and, not only so, but that he was disposed to resent any surmise or rumour to that effect, as something very like a positive injury and affront.

If further evidence should be thought needful, let those, who may still be doubtful, ponder the following extract of a letter, addressed to the editor by the Rev. Samuel O'Sullivan, which, although somewhat of the lengthiest, we produce the more

readily, because it does ample and splendid justice to the excellence of Mr. Knox's friend, above alluded to—Mr. Kelly. "Without imputing to Mr. Kelly any thing more than a mistake, my firm conviction is, that his notion of any change of sentiment in Mr. Knox, which would imply an abandonment of the fundamental principles maintained by him almost during the whole of his previous life, is most erroneous.

"I cannot now call to mind how nearly before his death it was that I saw him for the last time; but I know that, when I did see him last, he was so reduced that I did not think he had long to live; and certainly nothing then occurred which could induce me to suspect that any serious alteration had taken place in his previous convictions.

"I remember my friend the Rev. ———, (who, at one period of his life, had adopted most of Mr. Knox's views, but has since seen reason to change them,) having mentioned to me that Mr. Knox either complained to him of, or exhibited in his presence, a want of that religious comfort under severe affliction, by which the pious sufferer is frequently sustained, and which amounted to a sort of confession on his part, of the deficiency of the views upon which his hopes of final acceptance were based. I saw my venerated friend soon after; and not being able to discover the slightest trace of any alteration in his religious sentiments, I ventured to question him closely upon the subject (without mentioning any name); and he denied in the most unqualified manner that he was fairly liable to any such imputation. He admitted fully the lowering effects which severe illness, to which he was exposed, sometimes produced upon him; and doubted not that he might, under such circumstances, have given expression to feelings, which zealous persons having very decidedly opposite religious convictions might not unnaturally have considered either as evidencing the unsoundness of his views, or, at least, his own want of perfect satisfaction in them. But any thing more than this he utterly disclaimed; and seemed glad of the occasion for impressing upon me, that if at any future period such a mistake should be made about him, I should resolve it into a similar cause; and not suppose that views and principles which he had studied and tested in every way in which the criterion of truth could be applied to them, while in the fullest possession of all his powers, could, in one moment of weakness, be utterly abandoned.

"The truth is, that there were certain morbidly sensitive states of his body, in which the physical clearly predominated over the intellectual man. In those moments Mr. Knox was severely tried; and expressions might escape from him, which



“ individuals, benevolently on the watch for his conversion, might regard as favouring an object which they had most sincerely at heart, and in which they would have rejoiced, probably with a greater joy than at any other isolated event in the Christian world, by which the dealings of God with his people were distinguished. But, in this case, I need not tell you, they would fall into a great error. They would mistake the weakness of his body for the strength of his mind; and look for a commentary upon the recorded convictions of his previous life, in the querulousness of an exhausted and suffering nature.

“ Mr. Kelly I know well; and can truly say, that I do not believe there lives a man less capable of swerving from the directness of perfect truth, or of giving even an unduly coloured representation of any transaction which he may have seen it fitting to record. He is a gentleman of the most boundless religious zeal, and the most perfect religious sincerity, having devoted, from his youth up, the whole of his energies and an ample fortune to the propagation of what he believed to be true religion. He was a clergyman of the Established Church; and, had he remained in it, might, at the period of the Irish Union, have perhaps commanded a bishopric. But his religious persuasions to him were all in all; and for them he cheerfully, and without a sigh, abandoned every earthly object, undertaking the work of an unpaid evangelist, with an assiduous and laborious earnestness that reminds one of the apostolic times; and exhibiting, in his own person, an example of that composed and happy serenity, which is, perhaps, after all, the clearest realization to the minds of men of the efficacious reception of true religion.

“ Is it wonderful that Mr. Knox, who always sympathized with true piety wherever he found it, should have loved such a man, or delighted to hold with him at times spiritual communion? I think the contrary would rather be to be admired. That he should have asked Mr. Kelly to pray with him, is a very clear proof that he valued the man,—as who would not desire to be united in prayer with an individual whose thoughts are habitually in heaven? His exhibiting a readiness to join in an extempore prayer, argues, undoubtedly, a certain departure from the strictness of his previous practice, and may prove the pressure upon his weakened frame of depressing or agitating influences, such as I have before alluded to; and by which his mental powers may have been for a brief moment impeded or suspended. But I would no more reason from this to a deliberate change in his whole convictions, than I should argue from the awful words of the Saviour upon the cross,—‘ My

“ God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?” to a belief that the Lord of Life was under a sense of divine abandonment, at the moment when he was taking away the sins of the world. Indeed I tremble to have touched on such sacred ground ; and can only plead that I write under circumstances which afford me no time to look for any equally fitting illustration, even if an equally fitting illustration could be found.

“ After all, Mr. Knox’s religious views must stand or fall by their own intrinsic worth or weakness. They have not been received by any one *because* they are his. And by those who are truly competent to understand them, even if it should be found that Mr. Knox saw it fitting to change them towards the close of his life, they will not be lightly abandoned.

“ The clergyman who attended Mr. Knox in his last illness, and whose testimony on the subject would be quite decisive, is no more : the late Rev. James Digges La Touche. He was a gentleman who had not the slightest tinge of Calvinism in his religious views ; and, I think, the very selection of him for the performance of the last solemn offices of religion, amounts in itself to a negative of the notion that there really was any change, such as that supposed, in the tenour of his religious convictions.”—*Editor’s Preface*, vol. iii. pp. xxxix. to xlii.

We might easily fill our pages with additional and most copious details of this *cause célèbre* ; for the editor has wrought like one who had a *fire shut up in his bones, which would not suffer him to rest* until he had placed beyond all controversy the religious consistency and steadiness of the man, whose good name has been consigned to his faithful keeping. To us, we must confess, it appears, that a further exposition of the case would be little better than a superfluous labour. If any one of our readers, however, should think otherwise, we can only refer him to the ample pleading drawn up by Mr. Hornby, in which will be found exemplified all that can illustrate the character of a consummate gentleman, a single-hearted Christian, a trusty and laborious advocate, and, withal, an inflexible and devoted follower of the truth.

With regard to the difference between Alexander Knox, and the school opposed to him, if called upon for our *determination*, we should be disposed to sum it up as follows : *they* are disposed to rest their hopes mainly on the work which the Redeemer accomplished for the world, when he poured out his soul unto death. Knox, on the other hand, was never content unless he could, day by day, perceive the crucifixion of Christ exemplified within the *Calvary*—if we so may express it—of his own inmost soul. To them, the blood of Christ was the element of

life. For him, apart from the life-giving spirit, the blood possessed no healing or assuaging virtue. The molestations and persecutions of in-dwelling sin afforded, comparatively, little disturbance to them, for they were conscious of serving under a Leader who would, ultimately, make them conquerors, and more than conquerors. Knox was habitually in doubt of a prosperous issue to his Christian warfare, if he ceased, at any moment, to be conscious that the movement of his soul was heavenward. "Descent to him was adverse," and, consequently, painful and discouraging. The evangelical teachers and disciples regarded the langours and *cold fits* of faith, as so many symptoms which indicated that the "fever-balm" had not fairly made its way into the moral constitution. The patient, over whom they shook their head, was chiefly alarmed whenever the vital action of holiness, and righteousness, and purity of heart, appeared, for a season, to be stationary or suspended, if not absolutely palsy-smitten. In a word, the one party is more constantly intent on the pardoning mercy; the other, on the sanctifying grace. Now,—if this representation of the difference between these parties be a tolerably correct one,—we should apprehend that no genuine lover of peace can contemplate, without emotions of the bitterest regret, the separation into two distinct schools, which such a difference seems to imply. We are quite satisfied, at least, that the two schools might easily be made to coalesce into one, under the arbitration of an *amicus curiæ*, who should be amply gifted with the spirit of sobriety and love. It would be found, we believe, that neither of these divisions held its own peculiar principles, to the rejection or exclusion of the principles fondly cherished by the other. Both parties, we can scarcely doubt, would join in cordially embracing the two sister truths,—first, that the grace of God bringeth *salvation*,—and, secondly, that the grace of God hath appeared, to the intent that men should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world. Here, at all events, is ground on which they could not possibly refuse to meet. Some might, perhaps, be found on either side, so unhappily addicted to extremities of statement, so incapable of averting their eyes, long together, from some one peculiar *phase* of Christian truth, that all attempts towards bringing them to an agreement would be well nigh hopeless; nearly as hopeless as it would be to reconcile the conflicting witnesses in the apologue, each of whom averred that the shield they had examined was formed of a different metal. But, of such as these, we are not now speaking. We are speaking of those who have *drank* deeply into the spirit of all the Apostolic writings; of those, whose delight and glory it is to walk round the whole compass of Zion, and to mark *all*

her bulwarks, and to consider well, in all the varied aspects of its grandeur and its strength, the citadel of the heavenly Jerusalem. Can any man believe that if St. Paul were, at present, upon earth, and had before him the sounder advocates and representatives of each of these schools, that he would find any difficulty in bringing them to an unity? Can we believe, with his writings before us, that he would not recognize in their somewhat divergent tracks, many a foot-mark of that one and the same truth, into which he laboured, all his life, to guide the followers of the Cross? Why, then,—when we witness these symptoms of alienation between the two,—why should it be our endeavour to widen the breach? Why should we prefer to treat the case, as if it involved a deadly feud, rather than an unhappy misunderstanding,—the result of prepossessions, fostered by habit and by education, and rendered inveterate and incurable by the everlasting iteration of a school or of a coterie? We will not believe, until the evidence for it becomes absolutely overwhelming, that the rent, which we deplore, reaches down to the very foundation. We hang out, as a sign and a symbol of conciliation,—of honest and legitimate conciliation,—the faithful saying, that *there is no other name given, under heaven, whereby men may be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ*. May heaven forgive, and correct, those (if any) who imagine that we pronounce these blessed words in the spirit of unworthy compromise, or grovelling double-mindedness. We pronounce them, because we are persuaded that the grand and simple utterances of heaven,—if we have but an ear to hear,—may often do more to exorcise the spirit of controversy and dissension, than all the spells, and charms, and adjurations, which ever issued from the shrines of polemical theology.

Here, however,—we grieve to say it,—common justice demands of us the exhibition of a striking contrast between the temper of Alexander Knox, and that of the particular school to which he has been placed in opposition. We have already seen that the evangelical brethren were sorely disturbed by their alarms lest the system of Alexander Knox should have “left him without “a Saviour!” Now, really, this is a surmise, to hear which, with composure, does seem to us to require a much more than ordinary measure of Christian equanimity! Let any dispassionate person open his writings at random, and peruse any score of pages,—and then let him repeat to himself the sentence,—“Alexander Knox was living without a Saviour, and in peril of “dying without a Saviour!”—Alexander Knox,—whose whole life was passed in scanning the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the grand mystery of Godliness;—whose incessant striving it was, to become rooted and grounded in love, and to

know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge;—and who could be content with nothing short of being filled with all the fulness of God. And this was the man who was to be mourned over, as one who was in perpetual hazard of losing his hold upon the Redeemer of the world! Heaven forgive us all for the aberrations of our understanding, and the perversions of our heart! It is, in truth, a fearful sight, to behold sincere and ardently devoted men betrayed, by an extremity of zeal, into an eagerness to rush into the judgment-seat, and to speak in language which sounds like excommunication. We will not imitate their example, neither shall our souls come into their secret, or be united to their counsel. We will content ourselves with saying that they *spoke unadvisedly with their lips*. For,—whatever may have been his mis-statements, or his misconceptions, upon certain points,—surely, if ever there was a man who rested all his hopes upon the work of a Divine and Incarnate Saviour, that man was Alexander Knox.

But, now let us turn to the language in which Knox was accustomed to speak of those who professed the doctrinal scheme, which, after deep and patient research, he distrusted as erroneous and delusive. Never was he heard to intimate that their system had “left them without a Saviour.” On the contrary, such was the liberality,—we had almost said, such was the flexibility,—of his scheme of thought, when engaged in meditations on the history of the Church, that he assigned a distinguished position to that very class of believers, and regarded them as honoured instruments in the hand of God, for working out his gracious counsels to their full accomplishment. He believed, or at least he reverently conjectured, that the office *providentially* assigned to them was, to preserve inviolate the foundations of the Christian economy; while the workmen, with whom *he* was labouring, were appointed to raise up the superstructure in all the strength, and all the beauty, of holiness. That their operations were conducted upon principles unknown to the purest ages of Christian antiquity, was a persuasion (as he repeatedly tells us) forced upon him by that mighty current of testimony, which the whole course of his religious studies was incessantly rolling out before him. But never did he dream that their divergency from the path, in which he felt himself compelled to tread, was such as threatened to lead them fatally astray from the fold of Christ, or condemned them to wander as aliens and outcasts from the Israel of God. Nay—so deep was his humility and self-distrust, that he sometimes appeared disposed to concede to that same school which he opposed, a pre-eminence above himself, in their consolatory apprehension of the Redeemer. On one occasion he expresses himself

thus: "I seemed to myself to feel that, *whatever errors may be mingled with the views* of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, they,—(the evangelical men),—when really devout, had a *cordial*, and, as it were, *vital*, apprehension of our blessed Saviour, which gave them an advantage over *me*, in a day of trial: and the attainment of which, *in a strictly scriptural way*,—(I might say, as to the substance of it, in George Herbert's way),—would be, to me, an unspeakable happiness, in sickness and health, in life and death." (*Ed. Pref.* p. lxx). All this while, however, (to borrow the language of his editor) "he made the broadest distinction between their hopes, and their alleged ground of hope. He was convinced that Christ was vitally in their hearts; though he asserted, without hesitation, that the truth, as it is in Christ, was in their minds most partially, and with gross admixtures. He rejoiced to think that, the soundness of their moral constitution enabled them to thrive on food which he believed had not the full strength of life in it. He felt indeed, that, in their captivity, they had but *pulse to eat and water to drink*. But he saw that, in numerous instances, *their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than those of many of the children that did eat the portion of the king's meat*. He saw this, and he candidly avowed it. He avowed it, at once in depreciation of himself, and, to the acknowledgment of their comparative superiority in this particular. But, in such avowal, he never lost sight of his distinctions. He confounded not a *real* effect with a *supposed* cause. He did not attribute to doctrinal influences, that which his mind had traced solely to the operation of God's *power unto salvation*, working its blessed effects upon the ground of an *honest and good heart*." That his language of humility and concession should have exposed him to misconstruction, can be a matter of surprise to none, who reflect upon the eagerness with which the spirit of *party*—(we use not the word with any invidious intent)—will often fly upon the adversary's line, at any point which seems to be insufficiently guarded. Fortunately, however, abundance of defensive strength is to be found in many of his own deliberate and written statements. For instance, in 1828, he writes as follows:—"I meant no more, by what I said of the evangelicals, as they are called, than that they have been made the chief instruments of maintaining *experimental religion* in the Reformed Churches. And, *however* this may have been done, I must think it an invaluable blessing. I did not mean to speak particularly of those who are *now* active, but of the entire *genus*. And I did not mean that I thought otherwise of them, than I did when you and I were last talking on the subject;

“but, that my own increased exigencies had made me more alive “to the value of the *power of religion.*” (*Ed. Pref.* vol. iii. pp. lxxxii. lxxxiii.)

Another source of misconception, extremely injurious to Mr. Knox’s reputation for religious consistency and steadiness, was this,—that he never would consent to abandon the use of the word *evangelical*, when speaking of the religion of the Gospel, as it presented itself to his own heart and mind. He was occasionally heard to utter aspirations after a greater depth of *evangelical* religion. And, hence, it was inferred by certain of the so-called *evangelical* school, that he was beginning to feel the emptiness of his own system, and the substance and solidity of theirs. We are told that, on one occasion, he was cautioned, by a friend with whom he had been conversing, against the use of a term which had become “the watchword of a party.”—“What!”—he exclaimed—“give up the use of a word, because of their abuse of it! No, no;—never will I consent to relinquish it to them.” And he never did relinquish it. He continued the use of it, to the last; but never for any other purpose than to express his own unvarying sense. And, by this inflexible resistance to a narrow appropriation of the phrase, he, doubtless, assisted to extend and perpetuate the belief that he had no abiding confidence in the soundness of his own principles. The “unvarying sense” in which he understood the phrase, may be collected from his own recorded words:

“To be truly *EVANGELICAL*, is to *feel* that the Gospel is the *POWER* of God unto salvation; and, from that *FEELING*, to speak so as to make others *FEEL* their wants, and hopefully to *SEEK* the true supply. This, and not *DOCTRINE*, (to turn from Blair to others that claim that title,) is evangelical preaching.

“The more I read, and think, and look around me, my conviction increases that the oversight of the supreme moral purpose of the Gospel is the dominant error of the present day; and that the clouds which envelope the religious world at this time, and which, it may be feared, are producing deep and extensive delusion, can only be dispelled by ascertaining the real import of evangelical doctrine. I mean, by its being acknowledged and *felt*, that the supreme design of the Gospel is to teach us effectually to ‘deny ungodliness and worldly desires, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world;’ and that (whatever other results were provided for by our Lord’s death) this *moral* result is the one great end asserted by St. Paul: *that* is, not barely the *literal*, but the *greatly heightened* realization of the propounded purpose, ‘He gave himself for us, to redeem us from *all* iniquity, and purify to Himself a peculiar people, *zealous of good works.*’ I would ask, is there, in the evangelical volume, a more direct, comprehensive, definitive statement of *that* object of our blessed Saviour’s humiliation and death, which

was supremely contemplated in the whole stupendous procedure?"—*Ed. Pref.* pp. lxxviii. lxxix.

So much for the question, which has been so busily agitated, respecting the stability of Mr. Knox's faith. With regard to the peculiar temperament and complexion of his theology, we have still a few amicable words to offer. It was the complaint of Mr. Knox, that he never was at a loss for listeners; but that he could seldom find any one to grapple with him, or, to use his own phrase, to *ransack* him. Such was the charm of his imaginative power,—such was his affluence of knowledge,—and such was his command of spirit-stirring eloquence,—that his hearers felt much more disposed to appear in his presence as disciples, than as disputants. His words were often received as the dictates of something little short of inspiration. If it had been our good fortune to gain admission to his familiar circle, it is most probable that the same *prestige* would have kept us dumb, and utterly disabled us for the good office of *ransacking* our instructor. Supposing, however, that we could have collected courage and presence of mind sufficient for the adventure, we might probably have been impelled to submit to him the following considerations:

In the judgment of Mr. Knox, then, (if we rightly comprehend it,) the merits of the Saviour redeemed the world from ruin, otherwise utterly irreparable. They bestowed on the human race a capacity for reconciliation with God; which, after the fall, could never have been theirs but for that sovereign propitiation. And, when men are called to a knowledge of his grace, and admitted to a participation in its privileges and blessings, the work of redemption,—which, *potentially*, has been accomplished for all mankind,—is, actually and personally, brought home to them. The attainder wrought by the primeval disobedience, as to them, is utterly reversed and blotted out; and, if adults at the time of baptism, their foregone actual transgressions are all washed away; they are brought into communion with the sovereign and live-giving spirit; and they stand forth justified in the sight of God and man. But this, their justification, is but the *initial* step in that sanctifying process, by which they are finally to be made meet for the inheritance of the saints. And from that time forward, the redeemed must cast away all confidence in the cross of Christ, unless they are conscious that the light of holiness within them is perpetually shining more and more unto the perfect day.

Now at this point it is that our doubt and perplexity arises. That the work of sanctification should be constantly progressive, is beyond all question. That no disciple of the cross should aim below perfection, is equally indisputable. But this process of approximation to the full strength and stature of a perfect man in Jesus



Christ, is, after all, a gradual process; and, sometimes, a slow and unsteady process. Like the planetary bodies, the holiness of the Christian may have its stationary points, and even its retrograde movements; and yet, it may, on the whole, be clearly and decidedly progressive. The regenerate man is not exempt from his frailties and his lapses. He may chance to stumble frequently, in his struggles along the steep and narrow way: he may, at times, appear in danger of falling past recovery: and yet it may be apparent to those who watch his goings, that his course, though painful and laborious, is, evermore, onwards and upwards. Where is the saint or the martyr who ever passed a day, without feeling the urgent need of indulgence and forgiveness? Where is the child of redemption whose approach to the confines of eternal blessedness and glory is smooth, and equable, and free from impediment and interruption? In other words, where is the regenerate man who can say that, day by day, and hour by hour, he is without sin? And here it is that another question naturally arises,—has the remission of sins passed away with the waters of baptism? Is it no more than a mere transitory absolution? Is it a privilege, whose virtue is momentary? Is every lapse and failing in the subsequent life of the Christian, to be engraven on the rock? Has the Saviour's blood no healing or absolving virtue left for them, who may still appear to be more or less afflicted with the taint of our original distemper? Now, if we were to answer these questions in the spirit of Mr. Knox's theology, we do not well see how we could do otherwise than answer them in a manner, which might send despair into many a contrite and broken spirit, and lead to the apprehension, that all, but a very minute and insignificant remnant of mankind, were, indeed, *left without a Saviour*. We speak from the *general* impression which his writings have left upon our mind; for quotations, relative to this subject, from no less than four thick volumes, would be well-nigh endless; and, if produced, might possibly lay us open to the charge of partial and insidious selection. On the whole matter, however, he does appear to us somewhat unwarrantably to identify the remission of sin, with deliverance from the bondage of sin. He is not content with considering these two things, as closely and intimately connected with each other, though, in themselves, separate and distinct. He affirms, or, at least, he plainly and pointedly intimates, that they are one and the same thing. The whole tenor of his speculations seems to imply a denial of the Christian's right to fly to the cross, when troubled with the *conscience of sin*. He, virtually, contends, for the utmost rigour of the saying, that the Christian ought not to have *conscience of sin* any more; and that, consequently, he can be in no condition to

look to the atoning blood, directly and immediately, as the propitiation for his transgressions. According to him, the blood of Christ has, once for all, given us access to the Father. Having done this, its propitiatory virtue passes away. We have nothing more to do with it, otherwise, than as we find the office of the Sanctifier, which it has purchased for us, realized in our hearts, and manifested in our lives.

Now this, we confess, does appear to us to be a somewhat fearful sound of doctrine. It nullifies, at once, the dying words of Hooker,—which are constantly in the thoughts of every humble Christian, “Lord, I plead, not my own righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for the sake of Him who came to purchase a pardon for repentant sinners.” It almost deprives the word *pardon* of any meaning, except in its application to those, who are taking their first step from death to life. In short, it does appear to us to have been conceived in strange forgetfulness of the office and character of Him, who will neither *crush the broken reed, nor tread out the smoking flax*. And thus much we should say to Alexander Knox himself, if we could, at this moment, be admitted to his presence, and could muster fortitude enough to search him, and to *ransack* him. We should say to him—“You tell us that the Christian, from the day of his admission into covenant with God, to the day of his death, is in a state, which implies incessant preparation for entrance into glory. But, you cannot deny that even they who act in habitual conformity to those views, must, in moral certainty, be guilty of occasional failures and transgressions. You further must admit that every such failure and transgression, is a sin; and that without the good offices of a Mediator, *all* sin must be fatal to our hope of living for ever in the presence of God. Well, then,—if this be so, what must be the condition of the holiest man that breathes, if he should be cut off from all resort to the good offices of the Saviour? And what is it that can invest him with a right to fly to the Saviour, if it be not that Saviour’s cross and passion,—his meritorious sufferings—his atoning blood?”

Every one who is at all familiar with Knox’s writings must be forcibly struck with the confident iteration of his appeal to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in support of his own theory. And we have no doubt that he might appeal to the Liturgy, without fear of confutation, if they who differ from him would consent to rest the case upon his own selection of passages from the Liturgy! But, of course, they will *not* consent to this. They will, most untractably, insist upon appealing to their own selection of passages. And, if this privilege were allowed them, we as

little doubt that they would be able to make out as formidable a case, in their own behalf, as he has made on his. And it is further certain, that a controversy, thus conducted, would have no other advantage than that of exercising theological acumen, to the end of time. This is, precisely, the way in which the various schools of theology have dealt with the Bible. The consequences we all know—piles of polemical divinity—and catalogues of heresy and schism, the very names of which bewilder and oppress the memory. Now we, on our part, are as ready for an appeal to the Liturgy as Alexander Knox, or the stoutest of his adversaries. But then, our appeal would be to the whole of the Liturgy; just as our appeal would be to the whole of the Bible. Both the Bible, and the Liturgy (which contains the essence of the Bible in a devotional form), contain a variety of materials, out of which a mind which could delight in playing “fantastic tricks before high Heaven,” might easily set up a variety of schools. But if we contemplate either of them, in their fulness and integrity,—if we look at them in all their *phases*,—we shall find that their statements, like the antagonist muscles in the human frame, exert a corrective power and influence on each other, and that the result is, a *momentum* which carries the mind in that one direction, which leads to the throne of Everlasting Truth.

To verify this statement by reference and quotation, would be a tedious and superfluous task. Any one, with a Prayer-Book before him—we conceive—may satisfy himself of its correctness, in a quarter of an hour. The general Confession—the opening clauses of the Litany—the penitential prayer in the Communion Service—the confession in the Eucharistic office;—these, and many other parts that might easily be named,—all speak a language which seems to mutter from the dust, or to cry out of the depths. And, with these sounds of humility and self-prostration in their ears, the patrons of the *low* Divinity—(as Knox would probably call it)—might confidently ask—“Is it credible that “they, who endowed with utterance these outpourings of a “broken spirit, can have thought it safe for the Christian to avert “his gaze, for a moment, from the Cross, or to dream of safety “from the Destroyer, without an unwearied eye to the blood “of sprinkling upon their door-posts?” But then, again,—turn to other portions of our glorious offices, and especially to many of the Collects,—and, of what do they speak? Not of man as struggling in the deep and turbid waters, but of man as soaring upwards towards the tabernacle of unsullied purity, and eternal might, and ineffable sanctity. Take, for instance, that prayer of unrivalled beauty, and comprehensive power,—“Al-

“mighty and Everlasting God, grant unto us, we beseech Thee, “the increase of faith, hope, and charity; and that we may obtain that which Thou dost promise, make us to love that which “Thou dost command; through Jesus Christ our Lord.”—Or, turn to that supplication, of incomparably simple grandeur, and heart-stirring solemnity,—“O Almighty Lord and Everlasting “GOD, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, “our hearts and bodies, in the way of Thy law, and in the works of “Thy commandments: that, through Thy most mighty protection, “both here and ever, we may be preserved in body and in soul, “through Jesus Christ our Lord.”—Here, and in various other regions of our Liturgy, we seem to be conversant with spirits, who had, in truth, cast off all filthiness of flesh and heart, in the waters of regeneration,—who had taken leave, for ever, of all the baser propensities and *lusts* of our natural *ignorance*—who had *shaken themselves from the dust*—and were impatient only to *put on the beautiful garments*, wherein they might appear, *all glorious*, in the presence of the King. And, these were the *heavenly visions* on which the eye of Knox was perpetually fixed. These were the sounds which spake to him of “deliberate valour,” and of hopeful patience, and of conquering might. He had no ear, at times, for the mournful cry of conscious feebleness, and penitential dejection. It seemed to dishonour a redeemed spirit, whose privilege it is to be in intimate communion with God’s unchangeable holiness and majesty. And, when the lofty mood was upon him, no wonder that he should appeal to the “men of might, the grand in soul,” whose lips seemed touched by the cherubim with fire from the altar.

And is there, then, we ask again—any discord between the wailings of a contrite heart, and the accents of joyfulness and hope, which denote the march of them who go forth to fight God’s battle in the strength of God? Yes—just the same sort of discord that there is between the utterances of the heavens, when in their brightness they declare the glory of God, and when, in gloom and tempest, they speak to man of God’s avenging might and irresistible displeasure;—just the same discord that there is between the oracles of God, when they tell us that God is love, and when they tell us that God is a consuming fire. Ask the faithful man, while yet he is toiling on his pilgrimage, what is the grand and vital blessing of the Christian calling? And he will answer, that it is his sense of that virtue and might which is perpetually issuing forth, from the sufficiency of the Saviour, into his own heart and spirit; and, in the power of which, he is enabled to walk according to God’s holy and undefiled law. Ask that same faithful man, when stretched upon the bed of

sickness and decay, what is the hope that brightens the chamber of death? And he will, instantly, point to the cross of Christ. For, there it was that the victory was won, which overcame the world; there it was that the followers of the cross were made conquerors, and more than conquerors; and there, too, it was, that all condemnation was blotted out against them that are in Christ Jesus, and who walk,—(with habitual, if not with absolutely unfaltering, steadiness,)—*not after the flesh, but after the Spirit*. In life, or death, then, *where is boasting?* It is utterly shut out, and done away! When the expiring Christian thinks of the righteousness that he hath done, he exclaims, “behold, this is the work of Christ that dwelleth in me.” And, when he remembers his manifold short-comings of the glory of God, what will be his cry, but that which is uttered by the voice of our Church—“O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant me thy peace! O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me!”

Why, Alexander Knox himself, in various parts of his writings, has distinctly confessed his own daily need of forgiveness;—in other words, his daily need of atonement and propitiation! And this confession we hold to be in perfect harmony with the noblest of his heaven-ward aspirations. But, we scarcely see, we must frankly avow, how such confession can be clearly reconciled with certain of his more hazardous and venturesome declarations, which seem to discourage the transgressor from flying, in his heaviness, to “the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, once offered for the sins of the whole world.”

The contents of these volumes are so various, that a minute and elaborate examination of them would demand little less than a publication nearly equal in extent:—and, in many respects, they bear so strong a resemblance to those of his speculations which were previously before the world; that a lengthened disquisition would be superfluous and ill-timed. A fitter season may soon, probably, arrive, for a distinct and full consideration of his more prominent peculiarities. Mr. Faber has recently composed a treatise on the subject of justification; and Mr. Newman, as we understand, has a work in progress on the same subject. A comparison of these will, doubtless, afford fit opportunity for discussing some important points at issue between the contending schools. In the mean time, we have only to express an ardent hope that the investigation which may ensue, will, under heavenly guidance and control, advance the cause of Christian truth, without damage to that of Christian charity and moderation.

ART. II.—*The Book of the Fathers; containing the Lives of celebrated Fathers of the Christian Church, and the Spirit of their Writings.* London: J. W. Parker. 1837.

“ I HAVE seen the sun,” says Jeremy Taylor,\* “ with a little ray of distant light challenge all the power of darkness, and, without violence and noise, climbing up the hill, hath made night so retire, that its memory was lost in the joys and spriteness of the morning; and Christianity, without violence or armies, without resistance and self-preservation, without strength or human eloquence, without challenging of privileges or fighting against tyranny, without alteration of government and scandal of princes; with its humility and meekness, with toleration and patience, with obedience and charity, with praying and dying, did insensibly turn the world into Christian, and persecution into victory.” This evidence to the spirit which was in the early Church is established by records beyond the reach of scepticism, and proof against the surmises which would call in question the soundness of her faith. It cannot be supposed that when the practice of Christianity was so perfect, its theory was false or defective; or that the teachers of a doctrine which bore such living fruits were themselves the dupes of ignorance or error. There must needs be in any sound-hearted religionist a feeling of deep reverence towards the Christians of those times, when the flame of devotion burnt so pure and high, that it shone as a beacon in the dark places of the world; then, if ever, the Gospel was faithfully preached, when the religion of the Cross produced its cloud of suffering witnesses, whose faithfulness, in trials the most severe that have ever been endured by flesh and blood, is our first strong assurance that the word by which we stand has in it a power beyond the malice or violence of men. It is the thought which stirs us at the mention of the Communion of Saints, the spirit that breathes in our solemn hour of supplication: “ O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.”

It has, therefore, appeared to us a kind of ingenuity the most pitiable and perverse, which is seen to exercise itself in assailing the credit of the early records of the Church. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers especially appeal to our Christian interest and sympathy; they have come down to us evidently bearing marks of the fiery trials in the midst of which they first saw light,

\* Sermon on the Faith and Patience of the Saints.

mutilated and corrupted in some instances by unfriendly hands, in all with difficulty preserved from the treachery which, offering safety to those who would surrender their books, aimed a more subtle blow against the transmission of their religion. The simple truth, which was their utmost skill, shines through their scanty pages, and shows only the strength of God made perfect in man's weakness. It is perhaps well that it is so. For thus we are enabled to see clearly where the work of inspiration ended, to have no doubts of the fixed canon of the New Testament. What, then, can have provoked the rage of those Protestants who tread in the steps of the old Pagan adversaries, and attack the remnant they had spared? What laudable purpose has ever induced writers in modern times, professing a regard for Christianity, to bestow their diligence on such a merely destructive labour? What is the end to be secured? Is there any danger in these days of men becoming idolaters of rude antiquity, that we should so adore the primitive ways of Polycarp and Clement, as to give up our natural philosophy for theirs? Or is there any fear that in contemplating the suffering Church of the three first centuries we should be brought to recognise the same features in the persecuting Church of the sixteenth, that we should find the heretics who made the fires and those who burnt in them the same? We hear complaints that churchmen are deserting the principles of the Reformation. Is there any more fatal sign of it than this, that those who profess to follow in the steps of Cranmer and Ridley should have renounced the test by which they demanded to be tried, and, in a mistaken zeal for the naked word of Scripture, advance each private imagination above the faith of those "who bore the brunt of the conversion of the world?"\*

There cannot be a study more necessary for the times in which we live, assailed on one side by theological sophists, on the other by pretenders to inward light, than one that brings us to imbibe the pure spirit of primitive doctrine, delivered by those who heard with their own ears the words of inspired wisdom, or received them from others with the gladness of a soul by truth set free. We are thus led to see that the form of Christian verity is no variable or shifting thing; but has remained from age to age, like its heavenly Author, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." The good profession which Ignatius and Polycarp opposed to the sword of Pagan power; the creed which Justin held out against the philosophy by which his youth had been misled; the Catholic faith which sustained the soul of Athanasius, when "he

\* Evans. *Biography of the Early Church*, p. 8.

had no friend but God and death;”\* is still that spiritual food by which alone the heart is renewed to righteousness, and the eyes of the mind are enlightened to discern the mysteries of heaven. “We must still,” in the sound words of Basil, “as we have received, even so baptize; and as we are baptized, even so believe; and as we have believed, even so give glory,”† in the spirit of that good confession by which alone the God of Spirits is worthily extolled in hymns of angels, or in the congregation of the saints.

And how is the certainty of these things to be attained? If there is any principle in our holy religion which supersedes the common rules of argumentative process, or forbids that mental exercise by which in other studies we arrive at truth, there is then good reason why we should expect to be established in the faith without search into the records of past ages, and intuitively to apprehend those points “of which there was never any doubt in the Church.” But unless we believe that the Almighty supplies by miracle our natural defects, and guides us by some immediate inspiration, it is plain that no truth which we receive can be established, even to our own satisfaction, without reference to precedent. And in maintaining any truth to those that are without, as no controversy can be decided by one private opinion urged against another, the appeal to antiquity is one which no fair antagonist can refuse. Without this appeal, all question on the interpretation of Scripture is virtually at an end.

It follows that no well-instructed student in Theology can go unprovided with a knowledge of the succession of doctrine from the first ages. A strange fallacy of words and names seems to have excluded the view of a plain rule, which in no other subject could for a moment be called in question. What, for instance, would be thought of the lawyer, who should confine his reading to the statute, regardless of ruled cases and recorded opinions? Who is sufficient for these things, without use of such means, as right reason in every other science would prescribe? We have no right even to admit the claim of a disputant to argue on revealed truths, who does not come in some measure provided with this knowledge. We may say of such an one, with Tertullian, that it does not appear by what authority he has possession of the Scriptures. But if the opponent professes to have consulted the records of the past, yet still claims the privilege of judging for himself independently of creeds and councils, he

\* Hooker, v. 42. 6.

† Basil, Epist. cxxv. Δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτισθέντες, δοξάζειν δὲ ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν, Πάτερα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. See Hooker, v. 42. 8.



must expect to be told that it is a claim inconsistent with the principle of church-membership; and as the worst political subject is the man who professes to be of no party, the most hopeless heresies are those which have originated in private interpretations.

It is confessed that in this view we run into danger of the greatest misapprehensions. There are highly respectable persons ready to denounce such views as hindering the free course of the Gospel, confining the liberty of prophesying, as "betraying the truth on which alone Protestant Faith can rest,"\* and "departing from the glory of the Reformation."†

What is the ground of such accusations? There appears to be a somewhat prevalent opinion, that the Reformation was a kind of first step in a science of theological discoveries—that it unfixed old errors, but fixed no truths—that it established nothing but the right of private judgment; and therefore that its principles could not stop where they began, but must necessarily make progress, and enable each successive age to go further than the preceding. Is this a correct view of what was done in our own country? for it will suffice at present to confine our view to the English Reformation. Nothing can be plainer than that Cranmer and Ridley laid down no such principles, when they helped each other to maintain "the travelling Faith of the Gospel:"‡ it was something very different from this which supported Rowland Taylor at the stake,—something far more sure and comfortable. He went, as he tells us, "in sure hope, without doubting of eternal salvation," "believing stedfastly, as the true Catholic Faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God and perfect man;" that "upon this rock Christ's Church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it." He knew that "he had undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetical, apostolical, primitive Catholic Church," and was resolved that "nothing should lead him out of that way, society, and rule."§

If we appeal to their authoritative statements, the inference is the same. It is most true, that they have bequeathed to us the solemn truth, which cannot be too highly prized, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation." But was this the only truth for which they strove? Did they leave us to seek what these "things necessary to salvation" were? They might then have well dispensed with all the other Articles of Religion. But not content with a full statement of their own faith,

\* "Brief Examination," &c., by W. Wilson, D.D., p. 43.

† "Remarks on Popery," by Edw. Bickersteth, p. 41.

‡ "Decertantem Evangelii fidem." Ridley. *Martyrs' Letters*, p. 29.

§ *Martyrs' Letters*, p. 173 & 644. ed. 1564.

expressed in the first Articles set down, or with establishing it on the authority of the written word, they at once direct us to those Catholic Confessions, in which that faith is embodied. Their spirits, weary of tyranny and reproach, were sustained by this communion of belief with saints departed. And they had surely some reason for what they did; and saw, more clearly than some who ring changes upon their names, the great end to be secured. What is it, for which we are most bound to contend;—for the principle that Holy Scripture contains all that it concerns us to believe, OR FOR THE THINGS TO BE BELIEVED THAT IT CONTAINS?—for the Ark that enshrines our Covenant, OR FOR THE COVENANT ITSELF, FOR WHOSE SECURITY THAT ARK WAS GIVEN?

Let not this be thought a subtle refinement, as if the one could not be separated from the other. In themselves they cannot; for God has appointed the written Word as the means by which he has communicated himself to man: but in the mind of the religionist they may. As the Jews could swear by the gold of the Temple, when they made the Temple itself a cage of unclean beasts; so we find, by daily experience, an apparent jealousy for the honour of the Book, where the spirit of the Book was never known.

It is clear, then, that our Reformers established no such progressive principle. They had no thought of erecting the idol of private judgment against truths to which the faith of the Catholic Church bore witness: these truths were those for which they suffered, and for which alone they have truly earned the titles of confessors and martyrs. They had no thought that the reading of the naked Word would lead the individual into all necessary belief;

“That every saint had to himself alone  
The secret of this philosophic stone:”

they did not so undermine the foundations of the Christian Church; but “marked well her bulwarks, and set up her houses, that they might tell them that came after.” This it was that gave consistency and strength to the first days of the purest of Reformed Churches, which guided the pen of Hooker, the true interpreter of her charter and fundamental laws. Her outward defences rose upon the corruptions which she abolished; but her inward life and strength stood in the essential truth which she retained.

The providence of God has still preserved to us for nearly three centuries, amidst many a shock of fanatic zeal and infidel pride, the edifice which they purified and adorned. By the clue which they have left us, we may still thread the mazes of vain

philosophy, worldly indolence, and spiritual delusion. But wherever this is lost sight of, the centre of unity will be shaken, and the cause of our common Christianity must proportionably suffer.

It is not easy to imagine by what fatality so many respectable persons, not indifferent to the promotion of truth, have of late years been led so to misesteem the means by which alone such truth can be maintained: how it has come to pass that in this one point the sceptic and the pietist should have made common cause. It has been reserved for these latter days to make the defenders of primitive confessions and "forms of sound words" the mark of common obloquy; and obloquy from those who profess to hold at least the same rule of faith. There must be some deep-rooted misapprehension in all this; some popular fallacy, which has not yet been sufficiently unmasked.

The late ingenious Sir Humphrey Davy, true philosopher as he was, seems to have imbibed the vulgar opinion, when he said that there was seldom to be found sincerity in religion, without a seasoning of intolerance. If it is intolerance earnestly to maintain against gainsayers whatever commends itself to the conscience in the sight of God, this maxim may hold good; but if it respects the conduct of sincere believers towards others, as actuated by a persecuting spirit, nothing can be more false. It does not seem to have been sufficiently observed that religious persecution has ever raged most, when there was the greatest indifference to the prevalent religion. The same Athenians who applauded the irreverent buffoonery of Aristophanes, yet banished their most illustrious citizen on suspicion of mutilating a rude image of Hermes, and prosecuted the wrongs of a decayed stump of sacred olive. The old Paganism was ridiculed among the primitive persecutors of Christianity, and the zealous patrons of the Feast of Fools were they who lighted the fires of the Reformation. Wherever truth is held in a pure conscience, mercy and truth will meet together; to dream of promoting charity by indifference to truth, is to make a solitude and call it peace.

To return,—unless we join issue with the Socinians of the day, and avow that the Reformation itself was conducted on a defective principle, we must follow in the good old paths in which that great deliverance set our feet. We have, indeed, a heavy task to stand firm against the blasts of vain doctrine; and most painful is the misconception to which we are exposed from our own brethren. But when was it otherwise? The fallacy with which we are at strife is of no new date, but one which long since had in some degree imposed upon the keen intellect of Warburton. It would seem that even he was unable to explain the

principle of deference to the Fathers, which he found in the records of the English Reformation: but the fact was not then perhaps disputed; or, if it was, he saw it was too plain for controversy.

"The Reformed," he says, "though they shook off the tyranny of the Pope, were unable to disengage themselves from the unbounded authority of the Fathers; but carried that prejudice with them (as they did some others of a worse complexion) into the Reformation. They seemed neither to consider antiquity in general as a thing *relative*, nor Christian antiquity as a thing *positive*: either of which considerations would have shown them that the Fathers themselves were modern, compared to that authority on which the Reformed founded their Churches; and that the Gospel was that true antiquity on which they should repose their confidence. The effect of this error was, that in the long appeal to truth between Protestants and Papists, both of them going on a common principle, that the authority of the Fathers was decisive, the latter were enabled to prop up their credit against all the evidence of common sense and sacred Scripture."—*Introduction to Julian*.

It is singular how so acute a man should have mistaken the real question at issue. Neither side surely disputed whether *the Gospel was the true antiquity*, but what the Gospel itself was. The appeal to the Fathers was not to their authority, but to their testimony and evidence. "I take them," says Ridley, "as witnesses and expounders of the doctrine, *not as authors*." It was not, therefore, left for Daillé, as Warburton would have it, "to degrade them from the rank of judges to the class of simple evidence;" for the Reformers gave them no such dignity on the bench as he imagines; no authority, strictly speaking, at all. But as to setting *common sense* in the place of evidence on supernatural things, that is another matter: "*Le sens commun*," says a French writer, "*est une lumière qui éclaire un horizon borné, et qui suffit pour conduire celui qui n'étend pas sa vue au loin*."

It may be well here to take a short retrospect of the controversy moved by Daillé and his followers, as it seems to have had no small share in unsettling what we regard as the main principle of the Reformation.\* The work of Daillé is indeed appealed

\* It is remarkable what different notions the zealous Protestants of the day have of this main principle. Dr. W. Wilson has sent out his war-cry against us, in words chosen, it must be supposed, for their peculiar *historical* application: "*To your tents, O Israel*: and if you see a fundamental principle of your Church subverted, one of the strongholds of your Zion betrayed, quit you like men, and contend for the truth on which Protestant Faith alone can rest: the *absolute, entire, and full sufficiency of Holy Scripture*." Brief Examination, p. 43. Our friend, Mrs. Sherwood, it will be seen, carries out this main principle, by attacking the Eighth Article. Mr. Bickersteth, on the contrary, seems to think that the "*Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*," is the belief that the Pope is Antichrist. "This," he says, "was the *main reason* given by our Reformers for their separation from Rome."—*Remarks on Popery*, p. 42. We should have thought it possible to maintain the sufficiency of Scripture without re-

to by Warburton, as fixing a kind of era in the fortunes of Protestantism; and however he may have over-rated its effects, as he evidently does, on such writers as Chillingworth and Taylor, of whom the one wrote before he had seen Daillé's book, the other only slightly refers to it,—yet it is of too much importance to be passed over without a more particular notice. The book itself is probably little read or referred to at present; it is not extant in any very accessible or popular form:\* but its author confessedly led the forlorn hope of the detachment who were to spring the mine under the fortress of antiquity.

There is an obscurity about the Treatise "*De l'Emploi des Pères*:" and the object with which it was written is variously stated by those who are most conversant with its contents. There are statements towards the close of the book, which almost concede to the writings of the Fathers all that a candid inquirer into antiquity would demand: but the general impression on the reader's mind is, that his design was first to treat them as Father Harduin did the classics, to overthrow all confidence in the genuineness of what remains to us;—and, failing in that, by showing, as Warburton sums up his argument, "that they were absurd interpreters of Scripture, bad reasoners in morals, and very loose evidence in facts," to destroy their use in the decision of any question of Christian doctrine or Ecclesiastical practice.

Warburton, whom a kindred love of paradox seems to have inspired with a rare kindness towards Daillé, looks upon the extreme to which these accusations are urged as only a legitimate art of controversy, a bending the crooked stick the opposite way in order to restore its rectitude; but this might be more easily believed if the kind of proofs adopted by the critic did not create more serious misgivings. Nothing can be more ingenious than the mode in which times and dates, forgeries of heretics and forgeries of popes, legends of saints and legitimate history, matters of fact and matters of doctrine, are confounded together. Take from Daillé's treatise all that is irrelevant to the main question, and there will remain scarcely a tithe of its bulk. Where he comes to enumerate the actual important errors of the Fathers, in the fourth and fifth chapters of his second book, it is remarkable how, at the outset, as if conscious how little he had to justify the bold note he had struck, he

nouncing the Church's Creeds; and that our Reformers were more anxious to preserve those creeds, than to have the privilege of calling the Pope by a bad name. But this notion is obsolete.

\* The old English translation is done by a clumsy hand, who scarcely understood the French; certainly not the learned Thomas Smith, whose initials are appended to the preface. The Latin edition of Mettayer, Geneva, 1686, containing many additions by the author, is that which we have followed.

tells "the *candid* reader," one we suppose who was willing to take his assertions without proof, he may, if he pleases, pass over these two chapters.\*

Another mark of the merely destructive object of Daillé's work is well pointed out by his learned adversary, Matthew Scrivener, that he has done much to shake the rule of faith received by Christians before him, without substituting any definite rule of his own; he may have enlarged upon the text, "Believe not every spirit," but gives little help to "try the spirits whether they be of God." His motto is,

Νᾶφε, καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν—

a rule of acting by which many have obtained a name for wit, but one which does little service towards the establishment of any truth. Some of the heads of his argument tending this way are so singular that one can scarcely imagine them to be more than ironical, particularly where he takes a chapter to show that what we find in the Fathers is frequently not a statement of their real sentiments, but borrowed or pretended for the sake of argument. This is done chiefly by extracts from the writings of Cardinal Perron, and is an amusing specimen of the shortest mode to set aside a statement confirmed by the plainest evidence.†

It is very observable however that Daillé appears to have seen, though he is unwilling to allow, that the Anglican Reformers had a different view from his own of the use of the Fathers. "I do not deny," he says, "that some writers of high reputation among Protestants, such as Bucer, Martyr, Jewel bishop of Salisbury, and almost all of later date, appeal to the books of the Fathers in their controversial writings; but if you look minutely into their intention and design, you will find that they employ the testimony of the Fathers for the refutation of error, not for the establishment of truth—to overturn the opinions of Romanists, not to make good their own."‡ Here is a subtle distinction, but one which has no existence in facts; for it is undeniable that the English Reformers did both. Indeed it is scarcely possible to imagine how the refutation of a false opinion can be kept distinct from the establishment of the true. And we should owe but half our obligation to those willing champions who resisted the fable of Transubstantiation with the irresistible evidence of the Fathers, had they not by the same evidence established the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

\* "Poterunt, quique sunt æqui lectores, hoc et sequens caput prætermittere," &c. 253. ed. Mettayer.

† Book i. c. vi. p. 155, ed. Mettayer.

‡ "Non nego," &c. ed. Mettayer, p. 310.

The argument most elaborately set forth against the credit of the genuineness of the patristical writings is, that the admixture of spurious matter has been so extensive as to make it impossible to distinguish what is forged from what is true: an argument which crumbles to pieces on the slightest reference to facts. He dwells much on the doubts existing as to the authors of particular treatises; and, by assigning the worst motives for the origin of such doubts, would lead us to conclude that the Catholic Fathers put out forged writings in the name of their predecessors, or corrupted the copies they had received.

Now it is by no means clear that the assignment of a treatise to a wrong author always originated in a felonious intention. An anonymous document might be circulated, especially in times of persecution, and the name of the writer afterwards be supplied by conjecture; or a treatise might bear in its title some great name, when it was only intended as a faithful summary of his sentiments. For instance, the Creed of St. Athanasius. No more blame attaches to the compiler of that Creed than to Cornelius Jansen for entitling his work "*Augustinus*."\* Nor does the ascription of a wrong name destroy the whole value of a treatise. Euripides may not be the author of the "*Rhesus*," Cicero of the four books addressed to Herennius, or Tacitus of the "*Dialogus de Oratoribus*;" yet who doubts that these are productions of the several ages of Euripides, Cicero, and Tacitus, and in style and matter not altogether unworthy of their names. In the same manner it is of little consequence whether the "*Liber de Trinitate*" be Tertullian's or Novatian's; it is beyond doubt a genuine work of Tertullian's age, and a faithful record of the Catholic faith in his time. Neither has it been found that the assignment of doubtful treatises to particular authors of antiquity has impaired the credit of their genuine remains. On the contrary, the critical separation of what is doubtful or spurious has had the effect of increasing our value for those writings which abide the test; we gain by them in much the same way as we gain an author's best text out of the greatest variety of perverted

\* The compiler of the "*Book of the Fathers*," like many others, talks loosely on the subject of this Creed. Whether it was written by Vigilius, or by Hilary of Arles, as Waterland seems to have proved, it is an exposition of the Catholic Faith, which has no "spurious" mark upon it. We have no quarrel with the compiler of this volume, though his title is somewhat ambitious; his design is good, and it may be well to exhibit extracts of primitive doctrine even through the medium of a French translation done into English:

" Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis,  
Ponitur hic imos ante tabella pedes."

But in a work that "disclaims the character of theological discussion," it might have been well to abstain from a question so little understood.

readings. But in fact it has happened with the most questionable works of the ancient church, as with the most debateable remnants of classical literature,—those which are most doubtful are the least valuable, and, as conscious of their want of worth, they lay claim to obscure names. And as it matters little to the credit of pure antiquity who was the author of the Orphic poems, the Epistles of Phalaris, or Manilius; so it is nothing to the good fame of Augustin, Basil, or Chrysostom, to know who was the Pseudo-Dionysius, or when he wrote his mystical rhapsodies.

The only proof which could make us scruple to receive the testimony of the primitive Fathers would be, if it could be shown that they were themselves abettors of such frauds as they have charged upon the heretics of their time; that they met the forgeries of Valentine and Marcion, of the Arians and Pelagians, with counter forgeries of their own. But then this would prove too much. If we can believe that such arts were employed, it is difficult to say what warrant we can have not only for the integrity of the copies of any Father but of the Scriptures themselves, which were entrusted to their keeping. Daillé attempts to establish such corruption against the Fathers by a passage in Jerome, where he describes his own method of translating from Origen,\* practised also by Hilary and Eusebius Vercellensis, taking or leaving as they pleased, and altering what they thought erroneous. But the passage proves the very reverse of that which it is adduced to prove. The works alluded to were, *professedly*, not simple translations; the plan on which they proceeded was avowed; the original was left undisturbed; and the words of Jerome prove the scrupulous exactness with which he was anxious to guard against such a misinterpretation.

The learned Mosheim has a severe remark connected with this subject, which he offers without any proof, as if the fact were notorious; it occurs in his account of the Fourth Century :

“ The interests of virtue and true religion suffered most grievously by a monstrous error almost universally adopted in this century, . . . that *it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by that means the interests of the Church might be promoted*. This erroneous maxim was now of long standing; it had been adopted for some ages past, and had produced an incredible number of pious frauds, to the unspeakable detriment of that glorious cause in which they were employed. And it must be confessed that the greatest men, and most eminent saints of this century, were more or less tainted with the infection of this corrupt principle, as will appear evidently to such as look with an attentive eye into

\* Epist. lxii, ad Theoph. Alexandr. Daillé, p. 66. ed. Mettayer.



their writings and actions. We would willingly except from this charge Ambrose and Hilary, Augustin, Gregory Nazianzen and Jerome; but truth, which is more respectable than these venerable Fathers, obliges us to involve them in the general accusation."—*Maclaine's Transl.* vol. i. p. 310.

The solemnity of this charge should have been supported by something more than the vague generality of its terms. It is impossible to know whether it is borrowed from Barbeyrac, who had attempted something more specific on this subject. The monstrous error was of long standing too. Did it originate with the sincere Polycarp or the honest Ignatius? Against several of the names one cannot conceive on what grounds the accusation can be made, as Hilary, and Nazianzen, unless he be accused for a love he had to that shadow of a lie, called poesy. Chrysostom is left out by accident or design; yet, whoever has read the treatise "*De Sacerdotio*," might suspect he was a little playfully addicted to deceiving a friend for his good. But Augustin's doctrine on the sin of lying is surely of that gravity and strictness that it is hard to fix such a reproach on him.\*

When Daillé comes to speak of the actual errors of the primitive Fathers, if we set aside those which stand on various readings, and mistaken numerals, and estimate their wrong notions of geography and natural history, common to all the ancient writers, at no more than they are worth, we shall find little to persuade us to renounce their aid in building up that good doctrine, which had grown with the growth and become linked with the very being of their souls.† A little patience in examining the passages quoted will often show us the weakness of the assailant. For instance, among many errors imputed to Justin, we find the following:

"I pray you tell me out of what part of God's word he learnt this doctrine, 'that all those who lived *according to the rule of reason* were Christians, notwithstanding that they might have been accounted Atheists; such as were, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like; and among the barbarians, Abraham, and Azarias,' &c. repeating the same within a few lines afterwards: 'All those who lived, or do now live *according to the rule of reason*, are Christians, and free from all fear and distraction.'"—*Engl. Transl.* ii. 64. Latin, 256.

We know not whether such criticism as this has led many zea-

\* "Nulla omnino causa inveniri posse credatur, cur in rebus talibus mentiendum sit; quando nec ideo in ea doctrina mentiendum est, ut ad eam ipsam quisque facilius perducat. Fracta enim vel leviter diminuta auctoritate veritatis, omnia dubia remanebunt; quæ nisi vera credantur, teneri certa non possunt." Augustin. de Mendacio, § 17. And again, "Contra omnes omnium opiniones omni modo tenendum, in doctrina religionis nullo modo mentiendum." Ad Consentium, § 25.

† Αἱ γὰρ ἐν παιδων μαθήσεσι συναύξουσται τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνόνται αὐτῇ. Irenæus.

lous persons in later times to suppose Justin more a disciple of Plato than of Christ; or whether it is an opinion that fire will not burn out of them, that Justin wore a string of beads, on one of which he made the prayer "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis:" but in the mean time we will venture to translate the passage in full.

"Lest any should accuse us, as if we taught that all men who lived before the coming of Christ were unaccountable for their actions (as being without any divine guidance); we are instructed that Christ is the first-born of God, being the Word, of whom all the race of men partook: and those who lived *according to the light given to them by the Word*, were Christians, though they were reputed godless, (as the persecuted Christians of Justin's time;) as was the case with Socrates and Heraclitus among the Greeks, and others who were like to them; and among Barbarians, Abraham, and Ananias, Azarias, Misael, and Elias."\*—Apol. I. lxi. pp. 97, 98, ed. Ashton.

It is plain that the true meaning of Justin is here suppressed, by the omission of the clause which we have supplied: his object is to answer a particular objection, coming probably from persons who supposed him to deny that God had made any communication of himself to man before the incarnation of Christ. He answers this in the spirit of the text of St. John, not that the old Gentiles "could be saved by the law or sect which they professed," but that the Spirit of God strove with man from the Fall, that "in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men." And in proportion as they were obedient to the light afforded them, they were partakers of Christ, who gave them all those truths of natural religion or moral philosophy which they knew.† In this sense, and no further, does he call them Christians. If, however, the name seems scarcely allowable, let him explain himself by another passage:—

"Whatever at any time the old philosophers or legislators said well or truly discovered, they worked out according to the share of invention or contemplation given them by the Word: but since they knew not all the things of the Word, which is Christ, they also often contradicted themselves."‡—Apol. II. x. p. 182.

The object of the Apologies of Justin being "to render the doctrines of Christianity as acceptable as possible to the Gentiles,"§ it was necessary for him to allow such portions of truth as he found among them a prominent place in his discourse; to

\* Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι, Λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε' καὶ οἱ μετὰ Λόγου βιάσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν. . . .

† Rom. i. 19. See Mr. Evans's Biogr. p. 159.

‡ "Ὅσα καλῶς ἀεὶ ἐφθέγγαντο καὶ εὖρον, . . . κατὰ Λόγου μέρος εὐρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας ἔστι πονηθέντα αὐτοῖς κ. τ. λ.

§ Bishop of Lincoln's Justin, p. 47.

adopt their philosophical language, in speaking to philosophers, as St. Paul borrowed the verses of their poets; but he shows them how the truths which they had discovered veiled other deeper truths, and that their language was capable of a second and more spiritual meaning. This was not to philosophise Christianity, but to Christianize philosophy: he who condemns such a course of argument, only betrays his ignorance of the springs by which human nature is directed; he who suspects the single-hearted martyr of compromising the truth which he had learned, sees no further than the husk of his discourse:—

“What seem’d an idol hymn, now breathes of Thee,  
Tun’d by Faith’s ear to some celestial melody.”

Of the same false doctrine Clement of Alexandria is accused, for teaching that “the Gentiles, before Christ, were *justified* by philosophy, which was then,” as he says, “necessary for them to teach them righteousness, but is now only useful for piety;” that philosophy was to them what the Law was to the Hebrews—a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ;” that “the Greeks were *justified* by it alone;” and that “it was given them as their covenant, and foundation for the philosophy which is in Christ.”\*

The whole gravamen of this charge seems to have originated in Daillé’s Genevan education. Taking the word *δικαιόω*, and its cognates, to mean nothing but forensic justification, he imputes to Clement what Clement never dreamt of; it being self-evident, from the passages adduced, that he is speaking of a moral effect produced in the inner man; that such moral philosophy as Socrates taught was their best instruction in righteousness, and was a stock upon which the doctrines of grace could be more easily engrafted. That those who lived according to the rules of right reason were not so far from the kingdom of God, as outrageous offenders against those rules; and that in this sense philosophy was to them what the Law was to the Hebrews, it is surely no corrupt philosophy to affirm.

Irenæus, as well as Clement, is charged with holding, as the Church of England also holds, the doctrine of an intermediate state of the soul; and the latter for that interpretation of “Christ’s preaching to the spirits in prison,” which Horsley thought it not heretical to receive. It is perhaps a matter of pious opinion rather than an article of faith; but we see no objection to the belief, which many pious non-jurors appear to have entertained, that in the intermediate state the soul may be capable of receiv-

\* The passages in the original are chiefly, Strom. lib. i. p. 99. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας, εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγκαῖα φιλοσοφία. And p. 117: καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἐδικαίου ποτε καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία τοῦς Ἕλληνας.

ing illumination, and having such knowledge imparted to it, as may rectify involuntary errors, and prepare it for a fuller participation of the divine nature.

Daillé, holding with his friend David Blondel, had excluded from his consideration the epistles of Ignatius, and all the remains of the Apostolical Fathers. But forgetting his resolution, when an opportunity seemed to present itself for striking a blow, he calls attention, as if to the words of Ignatius, to an epistle confessedly of much later date:—

“The Fathers,” he says, “to call off our faith and affections from such things as they consider false or inexpedient, speak of them as altogether horrible and destructive: ‘If any one,’ says Ignatius, ‘fasts on the Lord’s Day or Sabbath-day, one only excepted,’ (meaning Easter eve,) ‘he crucifies Christ afresh.’ Who does not shudder at such tragical expressions? Who would not suppose that the question concerned the very foundation of Christianity? And yet it is about an observance of positive law, received, as is generally supposed, only in one part of the Church, so far from being reckoned necessary, that it was scarcely included in the first class of things probable; and which now, among the members of the Western Church, is altogether become obsolete.”\*

It is singular that so sceptical an inquirer should have quoted this as a sentence of Ignatius, when, of the practices condemned, the Saturday Fast seems to have originated with Marcion half a century after the martyr’s death,† and the Sunday Fast with the Manichæans in the following century.‡ But whoever was the author of that epistle, the intention of these heretical fasts, properly understood, would have put an end to all surprise at the vehemence of his language.§

Such are a few specimens, taken casually, from the criticisms of this once celebrated work. The effect of it upon the Protestantism of the continent was doubtless unfavourable. Calvin had treated the Fathers with little courtesy, and Luther had denied the possibility of eliciting from them a consistent scheme of scriptural interpretation. But it was left for Daillé to give form and substance to those disparaging views of the early Church, which, where the bond of Episcopacy was lost, all were too ready to entertain. From that time we find little satisfaction in the notices of the age of the Fathers by the most respectable of foreign Protestants, such as Beausobre, Basnage, and La

\* B. i. c. viii. p. 117. ed. Mettayer. We omit for the present all reference to Daillé’s subsequent controversy on the subject of Ignatius, which drew upon him the unanswerable animadversions of Bishop Pearson.

† Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xlii. c. 2. See Professor Keble’s note on Hooker, vol. ii. p. 533.

‡ Augustin, *ad Casulan.* Epist. xxxvi.

§ See Hooker, v. lxxii. 10; Beveridge, *Cod. Can. lib. ii. vii. 6, 7.*

Croze: with the mass they fell into neglect; the learned sometimes referred to them as stores of curious research, but none took them for guides in the science of a Christian life. The Arminians and Calvinists, however different in other points, agreed in this, that their controversy tended still further to exclude the view of primitive doctrine.

In England the depreciation was less rapid. The Liturgy still breathed its silent influence; and the pens of Hammond and Pearson, and afterwards of Bull and Waterland, still shamed an indolent generation, and rebuked the rising scepticism of their time. And no doubt the shock which the English Church had received kept alive the flame of her first love, and made her wary of rash speculations and untried systems. It was not till half a century had past, that Whitby, probably now tinctured with the Arianism of his declining years, put forth his "*Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patres.*" In this treatise seems to be contained the first formal assertion by an English divine, that to take the primitive writers as witnesses of Catholic truth was against the sense of our Sixth Article. But the object with which this assertion was made is evident from the title of the third division of his book, "*Non posse controversias de S. Trinitate motas, ex Patribus, Conciliis, aut Traditione verè Catholica definiri.*" It was about the same time that Whiston started his absurd fancy, that Athanasius had mutilated the epistles of Ignatius, by removing such passages as were inconsistent with the doctrine of the Nicene Creed.

Barbeyrac, whose bias was sufficiently strong, speaks of this treatise of Whitby's in high terms of eulogy: "*Ceux qui ne connaissent pas encore les Pères, trouveront dans ce livre un si grand nombre de fausses explications, et d'erreurs de toutes les sortes; qu'ils en seront étonnez, et qu'ils ne pourront comprendre comment on ose tant respecter et admirer de tels écrivains.*"\* More impartial judges have seen its shallowness; and lament it as one of those acts by which its author impaired the credit of his earlier writings. It seems never to have attracted much notice in this country. But the general increase of Arminianism first,† and afterwards the degenerate tone of morals, had made the old learning almost disappear; and when the base stuff of Middleton and Jortin came forth, it may seem that the destroyer's task was almost done.

The work of Barbeyrac himself, "*De la Morale des Pères,*"

\* *Morale des Pères*, c. vii. n.

† What kind of theology could be expected in England, when students were directed to learn the system of their Church between Turretin and Limborch, or to oppose the errors of Popery with such a religion of negatives as may be found in Tillotson's "*Rule of Faith?*" See Bennet's *Directions*, &c.

has been noticed by Warburton and others with somewhat more respect than it deserves. It is indeed no better than what Waterland calls it, "a Satire upon the Fathers," often in a style of open-mouthed invective, not without proofs of a corrupt mind and impure imagination. The morality of the Fathers has little to fear from a comparison with the morality of such as Barbeyrac. With the reckless self-sufficiency peculiar to persons of this class, he regards neither times nor circumstances; but judges of the doctrine of Justin or Tertullian, as if they had been living in the society of the eighteenth century, or sitting in the easy chair of a Groningen Professor. The following are the terms in which he accuses Tertullian of denying to Christians the right of self-defence against an unjust aggressor:—

"Est-il possible, que, dans un Traité entier fait exprès sur ce sujet, et qui paroît un des plus travaillez de ce Père, (the treatise '*De Patientiâ*,') il n'eût pas dit un seul mot, pour prévenir les impressions que l'idée qu'il donne de la Patience Chrétienne devoit faire d'abord sur l'esprit de ses lecteurs? Quoiqu'il ne faille pas attendre des anciens Docteurs de l'Eglise, et sur tout de celui-ci, toute l'exactitude d'un Moraliste, . . . je n'ai garde de croire Tertullien *si stupide, ou si emporté par son feu Africain*, qu'il n'ait pas vû que la Patience, qu'il exige d'un Chrétien, est absolument sans bornes. . . . 'Celui,' dit-il, 'qui n'a pas le courage de souffrir qu'on lui fasse perdre quelque chose ou par un larcin, ou par un enlèvement de vive force, . . . pourra-t-il aisément ou de bon cœur, se voler lui-même, pour faire l'aumône?'"\*

To say nothing of the positive conclusion here drawn from negative premises,—for it is only from his silence that he argues Tertullian to have thought an appeal to a court of justice unlawful,—did the critic never hear that to the persecuted Christians all such appeal was precluded? That the treatise "*De Patientiâ*" was written at a time of persecution, the words which follow in the next chapter might have shown him: "*Ipsam animam, ipsumque corpus, in seculo isto expositum omnibus ad injuriam gerimus; ejusque injuriæ patientiam subimus: minorum deliberatione lædemur? Absit a servo Dei tale inquinamentum, ut patientia, majoribus tentationibus præparata, in frivolis excidat.*"† The ancient moralist knew, better than his modern censor, that human nature will rebel under petty wrongs, when it does not shrink from open violence. No doubt it was at such times often necessary to exhort those, whose constancy was prepared for fiercer trials, "to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods." But if Tertullian's African blood had carried him so far as to hold the absurd notion Barbeyrac imputes to him,—that it was

\* *Morale des Pères*, vi. 33, 34; Tertullian, *De Patientiâ*, vii.

† *De Patientiâ*, viii.

unlawful to use any kind of self-defence, he would never have written his Apology.

It is scarcely possible to acquit this critic of the primitive morals of more deliberate misrepresentation, where he attacks the doctrine of the Fathers on the subject of usury; especially as his studies in ancient law must have led him to a knowledge of the real state of things, the licensed prey of man on man, under the Roman empire. "C'est une des choses," however, says he, "qui montre le plus palpablement la crasse ignorance des Pères de l'Eglise, et de leurs apologistes, en fait de droit naturel et de morale.\*" His main proof is founded on a passage from Lactantius, in which, he says, "il condamne absolument le prêt à usure, et le regarde comme une espèce de larcin."

The passage is in Div. Institut. Lib. vi. c. xviii. "*Pecuniam si quam crediderit,*" says Lactantius, speaking of the practice of a Christian in his time, "*non accipiet usuram; ut et beneficium sit incolume, quod succurrit necessitati, et abstineat se prorsus alieno. In hoc enim genere officii debet suo esse contentus, quem oporteat aliàs ne proprio quidem parcere, ut bonum faciat; plus autem accipere quàm dederit, injustum est; quod qui facit, insidiator est quodammodo, et ex alterius necessitate prædatur.*" Here it is plain that the Christian philosopher had in view a case of Christian duty, a loan furnished to supply a brother's need; it has no bearing upon the question of lending a sum to be employed in a profitable investment. The spirit of Christian brotherhood forbids to take advantage of a brother in distress,

"for when did friendship take

A breed of barren metal from a friend."

To take interest in such a case, he says, would be little better than robbery. If this view of it appears harsh, let us remember the stern virtue of Pagan Rome. "*Majores enim nostri,*" says old Cato, "*sic habuerunt, et ita in legibus posuerunt, furem dupli condemnari, fœneratorem quadrupli: pejorem civem existimarent fœneratorem, quam furem.*"†

Far different from this rude simplicity was the state of borrower and lender under the decline of Rome; when no salutary law checked the oppression of avarice, and the despair of suffering multitudes sometimes shook the state to its centre.‡ The Roman custom of debtor and creditor was, indeed, marked by a savage ferocity, which no heart impressed with Christian feelings could behold without horror. When Basil had seen with his own eyes the children of a thriftless parent sold in the market

\* Morale des Pères, ix. 6.

† Cato De Re Rustica, init.

‡ Tacitus, Annal. vi. 16, 17.

for their father's debt, what wonder that he should compare the lender, exacting his monthly interest, to the demon of lunar madness, vexing his victim at the changes of the moon.\*

Still it is not clear that in their condemnation of usurious practices, the Fathers meant to condemn all beneficial employment of a Christian's private wealth. What the law of Justice demands is surely not, as Barbeyrac would have it, that every man should be free "d'accorder son propre bien à telles conditions que bon lui semble:" but that he should have the power of lending it out for as much and not more than it is worth. This is the end of the usury laws, not yet abolished, and hitherto found necessary in all well-governed states, to protect the lender while he does not bargain for a usurious rate of interest, beyond the average increase of his capital otherwise employed. As far as the Fathers speak specifically on the subject, they seem to have had no other view of usury. A canon of the Council of Nice prohibits the clergy from lending on interest;† but the interest specified is the *centesima*, and the fifty per cent. (ἡμιολῖος τόκος) on agricultural produce, condemned also in a strong passage by Jerome,‡ and afterwards reduced by a law of Justinian to the proportion borne by the *centesima* to the whole. Where the laws allowed even so high a rate as this, it cannot but appear that the Church did right to exert her vigilance to keep her children within the licence of the statute; and this end it was well to secure, if it could be done by no other means, by forbidding them to lend on interest at all.

It cannot but strike a reader of this satirical censor, that almost all his objections are against the excess of moral extravagances in the Fathers, not for the defect of right principles. His narrow line and rule applied to their pages of glowing eloquence remind one forcibly of Madame de Stael's twofold division of humanity, "ceux qui sentent l'enthousiasme, et ceux qui le méprisent." Where he is most candid, he judges of them as the stage-critic, who measured Garrick's tragic pauses by looking only at his stop-watch.

The treatise of Barbeyrac, moreover, abounds with dishonest quotations. It will suffice to point out the following:—

"Justin parle de ceux d'entre les Chrétiens *qui se denonçoient, et s'alloient eux-mêmes offrir au martyre*: mais bien loin de donner aucun indice qu'il désapprouve ce zèle outré, on peut inferer qu'il l'approuve de ce qu'il dit dans un de ces passages. Il se propose cette objection: 'On nous dira peut-être; Puisque vous voulez tant mourir, pour aller à Dieu, tuez-vous tous vous-mêmes, et ne donnez plus d'occupation à nos tribu-

\* Basil. Homil. in Ps. xiv. (xv.)

† Concil. Nic. Can. xvii.

‡ Comment. in Ezekiel, vi. 17.



naux.' Que répond Justin à un tel raisonnement ? Il ne nie point le fait, ni ne blâme l'action ; il se contente de nier la conséquence. 'La raison,' dit-il, 'pourquoi nous ne donnons pas la mort à nous-mêmes, c'est que nous avons appris que Dieu n'a pas créé le monde en vain, mais pour l'amour du genre humain, &c.'" . . . On peut inferer de là, que Justin ne regardoit pas un Chrétien comme véritablement cause de sa mort, lorsque, *par un désir mal réglé du martyre, il s'y va offrir de lui-même.*"\*

Will it be believed that the whole of this charge is founded on the suppression of a little clause in the first sentence referred to, "That no man may say," says Justin, "Kill yourselves and go to God, and do not give us the trouble, I will state the reason why we do not this, and also *why, when questioned at your tribunals, we fearlessly confess that we are Christians.*"† He has just been speaking of the case of Lucius, a Roman martyr, who had presented himself before the prefect, not to denounce himself, but to intercede for a Christian friend ; but, being himself questioned by the prefect, had confessed that he also was a Christian, and shared the death appointed for his friend. This is all that Justin defends : he says nothing in approval of a voluntary self-accusation ; but he did not hold that the denial of their Christian profession, when they were "brought before kings and rulers," was one of those "menteries innocentes," which his censor believes the Fathers to have generally approved.‡ His criticisms are equally candid, where he calls Cyprian to account for the same *ill-regulated desire of martyrdom.*§

Since the appearance of the flippant Remarks of Jortin, the controversy on the Fathers had been lulled in a deep repose. The few gentle spirits, who loved the primitive ways and order, and the forms of primitive consent, pursued their course undisturbed by the strife of tongues ; but among all the currents of popular doctrine, there was none which turned the public attention to the forgotten article of Faith, "I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church." The time has now come, we confidently trust, when we may look for the revival of better principles and deeper knowledge. The venerable men, who have seen what "the glory of the first house" was, have lived to see a love for the old theology revive. The "Library of the Fathers" is in the hands of editors, whose names are a warrant for a judicious and faithful restoration of the stores of antiquity. "The hacknied

\* Morale des Pères, ii. 8.

† "Ὅπως δὲ μή τις εἴπῃ, Πάντες οὖν ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσαντες πορεύεσθε ἤδη παρὰ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἡμῶν πράγματα μὴ παρέχετε, ἐξῶ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τοῦτο οὐ πράττομεν, [καὶ δι' ἣν ἐξεταζόμενοι ἀφόβως ὁμολογοῦμεν.] Apol. II. iv. p. 167, ed. Ashton. Barbeyrac appends the passage to his text, with the omission of the clause between brackets.

‡ Morale des Pères, xiv. 7.

§ Ibid. viii. 40, etc.

rule of Vincentius," as Dr. Hampden calls it, is again heard of in the Oxford schools; and long may it animate the scene where Ridley first called it to his aid!

Of regular assailants of the Christian Fathers, we now hear of none, or none of any name and reputation. It is true there is a Mr. William Osburn, of Leeds, we believe, who has put forth a full volume on the "Doctrinal Errors of the Apostolical and Early Fathers;" and, indeed, he has picked so many holes in their tattered garments, that how they will ever be mended to his satisfaction cannot be imagined. He is an opponent too, of whom it is apparent that he is no novice in the science of dispute.

"Well hath he learnt the grammar, and the logic  
And rhetoric of debate; his method all  
Drawn out in tables and in scales, shall make you  
Able to quarrel at a straw's breadth by moonlight."

No Pharisee could be more angry at a false measure in his tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, than Mr. Osburn with the Fathers for not adapting their words and phrases to the capacity of his peculiar sensorium. Yet it must be confessed this would have been a difficult task. St. Hermas has said, in Wake's translation, p. 393, "God is not as men, mindful of the injuries he has received; but *he forgets injuries*, and has compassion upon his creature:"\* a passage of which Mr. Osburn observes, "it would be hardly possible to display more consummate ignorance, not only of the nature of prayer, but of the whole scheme of Christianity." "We deny," says he, "that the sinner has any ground of hope in *the badness of the Divine memory*: God does not, cannot, *forget* any thing."† Only imagine what a ferment would have been raised in Mr. Osburn's mind, had he for the first time read in some ancient Father the solemn words of the new Covenant, "*Their sins and their iniquities* WILL I REMEMBER NO MORE."

That we may not, however, be accused of unfairness to the latest censor of the Fathers, we will take the first passage which presented itself on opening his volume; he is accusing the Apostolical Fathers of claiming an inspiration for their writings:—

"They mistook," says he, "their own mental emotions for the impulses of inspiration. St. Barnabas concludes his well-known comment upon the ceremonial law, thus:—'But how should we know all this, and understand it? We, understanding aright the commandment, speak as the Lord would have us. Wherefore he has circumcised our

\* Hermas, lib. ii. mand. ix. On comparing the Latin, or the Greek of Antiochus, it will be seen that Mr. Osburn's examination did not extend to the originals. The words are "*immemor injuriarum*," and ἀμνηστίανος, neither of which expresses simply an act of memory.

† Doctrinal Errors, &c., p. 120.

ears and our hearts, that we might know these things.' This bold avowal of inspiration is made in favour of *a tissue of obscenity and absurdity which would disgrace the Hindoo mythology*: though in the same epistle the writer entirely disclaims it for the pious and scriptural train of reasoning with which he commences.

"Ignatius makes a similar general disclaimer of inspiration. He experienced no necessity for it so long as his sentiments were in accordance with the teaching of the Apostles; but when he inculcates *his wild extravagant notions of subjection to the Christian hierarchy*, he becomes inspired. 'Some would have deceived me according to the flesh; but the Spirit being from God is not deceived. I cried while I was among you, I spake with a loud voice, Attend to the bishop, and to the presbytery, and to the deacons. Now some supposed that I spake as foreseeing the division that should come among you; but He is my witness for whom I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from any man; but the Spirit spake, saying on this wise, Do nothing without the bishop.'

"The mental process," says Mr. Osburn, "by which these good men were deluded is not very difficult to analyze; both were evidently conscious that the doctrines they advanced did not rest upon a very firm basis of Scriptural authority: but they nevertheless entertained towards them *that kindly parental prepossession, against which every one who commits his thoughts to writing ought to be upon his guard; they were elated with the idea of having struck out something clever and original*, and this emotion they mistook for the inspiring influences of the Holy Ghost."  
—*Doctrinal Errors*, &c. pp. 25, 26.

We shall say nothing to Mr. Osburn's notions of Hindoo mythology, wishing him only an ounce of civet, to sweeten his imagination: nor to his notions of subjection to the Christian hierarchy;—it is a matter which does not enter into his constitutional system. But we must beg of him to look with us at the text of these two Fathers, lest he should go on, like Judge Minos, to sentence first, and then to hear.

The author of the epistle of Barnabas, so far from claiming a private inspiration in the passage referred to, *does not speak of himself individually at all*. He is speaking of Christians in general, as being able to see a typical sense in the ceremonial law, which the Jews could not see; a sense which the Epistle to the Hebrews would point out generally to any attentive reader, whatever may be thought of the further application of the principle to those things enumerated by the author of this epistle. Those who received the Christian Scriptures saw how the ceremonial law was "a shadow of good things to come;" the Jews could not.

"How should *they*," says the primitive writer, "understand or comprehend these things?" (not "*we*," as Mr. Osburn has it from Wake). "We Christians, rightly understanding the commandments of the ceremonial law, speak of them as the Lord intended them; for this reason He

has circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we may understand these things.”\*

That this is the sense of the passage is evident from what is said a little before in the same epistle, where he has been enlarging on the typical sense of the Jewish sin-offerings :—

“The ceremonies there used,” he says, “are clear to us, but dark and obscure to them : because they have not heard the voice of the Lord.”†

As to Ignatius, he not only does not claim inspiration in the passage quoted, *but actually disclaims it in that very passage* :—let us see :—

“Though some,” he says, “wished to deceive me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit is not deceived, being of God : for it ‘knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth,’ and ‘reproveth the secrets of the heart.’ I cried out while I was with you, I spoke with a loud voice, ‘Give heed to the bishop, to the presbytery, and the deacons.’ Some suspected me of saying these words because I had known beforehand that there was a spirit of division manifested by some. But He is my witness for whom I am in bonds, that I knew it not from any living man. But the Spirit preached by me, saying, ‘Do nothing without the bishop ; ‘keep your body as the temple of God ; love unity ; avoid divisions ; be ye followers of Jesus Christ, even as He is of his Father.’ I, therefore, did my own part only as a man who was prepared to preserve unity.”‡

It is plain that the good bishop here pretends to no inspiration,—on the contrary, he declares that he spoke as a man, taking only such topics as it became a ruler in the Church of Christ, and one who tendered its prosperity to insist upon ; but that the Holy Spirit, *whom some Christians still believe to breathe upon the ministrations of the word which He gave*, directed his preaching to an application unknown and unsuspected by himself. It is a passage which may seem to magnify the ordinance of preaching ; but the “parental prepossession” felt by an author who has “struck out something clever,” be it where it may, is not to be found in the text of Ignatius.

After this specimen of two mis-translations on his first page, the reader will probably agree with us, that we may leave Mr. Osburn to go on cursing his own shadow for a traitor ; he may be considered to be *hors de combat*, as far as concerns the interpretation of the Fathers.

Enough, indeed, has been said to show the ease with which

\* Barnab. Epist. x. ad fin. Πόθεν ἐκείνους ταῦτα νοῆσαι, κ. τ. λ.

† Epist. Barnab. viii. ad fin.

‡ Epist. ad Philadelph. vii. In the words, ὡς προειδὸτα τὸν μερισμὸν τινων, Ignatius does not mean that they suspected him of foreknowing some future event by a prophetic revelation, as Wake somewhat absurdly takes it, but of being informed before his coming to Philadelphia of the actual state of the Church there.

minds of a certain bias will admit the most preposterous charges against those whose memory they do not love. Enough, we hope, to show, that there are no reasons yet urged of sufficient weight to make us think the ancients are, like the superannuated Romans,\* to be thrust off from the bridge end, or all to be exported to America, where our brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church understand their value. We wish this humble effort might serve to remove some portion of the unhappy jealousies that still prevail; that it might first of all direct the eyes of Churchmen to see where the hidden power of the Church of England lies, that her defenders may not go forth to the contest with armour that they have not proved, nor rob themselves of those essential graces, which are to them not the marks of comeliness, but the secret of their strength. And, after taking the concurrent voice of antiquity as the sure guide to all fundamental truth, that they may not think scorn of those who have committed it to faithful records, who, though men of like frailty with themselves, yet witnessed unto blood the good confession in times more perilous, or who, when the churches first had any space of rest, laboured to make known the way of righteousness with a zeal and diligence which no later age has equalled. Let it be considered how little we should know of the interpretation of Scripture without the works of Origen, of Tertullian, of Chrysostom, of Basil, of Hilary, of Augustin, and of Jerome. Is it not a fact which cannot be disputed, that the Reformation itself received its impulse from the revival of the study of the Fathers?—that this arsenal supplied Ridley and Cranmer with those good weapons whose ethereal temper forced falsehood to disclose itself in its own likeness? And is it not some solace, amidst the changes of an uncertain world, to have communion in the ways of truth with the spirits of just men made perfect, to know that we are not without a centre, but part of one great system revolving round that Sun,

“Whither as to their fountain, *other stars*  
*Repairing, in their urns draw golden light.*”

Rooted and grounded in these studies the Christian student finds a depth and compass in the divine word, far different from the shifting interpretations learnt in the diluted theology of later days: he can range at liberty in large pastures, undisturbed by the watchwords of party, and be satisfied with the waters of comfort, which come down fresh and pure through soils nurtured near the springs of the Eternal Fountain.

\* “*Video quosdam, præ novis libellis, veteres auctores fastidire in tantum, ut et Origenem et Hieronymum, velut sexagenarios, quod est in proverbio, de ponte deturbandos existiment.*”—*Erasmus, Præf. in Hilar.*

- ART. III.—1. *A Sketch of the History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, 1688. By Thomas Vowler Short, B.D., Student of Christ Church, and Rector of King's Worthy, Hants. 2 Vols. Oxford.
2. *The Life and Times of Richard Baxter*. By the Rev. William Orme. 2 Vols. 8vo.
3. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Owen, D.D.* By the Rev. William Orme. 8vo.

AN impartial history of ecclesiastical affairs in this country from the period of the Reformation is still a desideratum in English literature. Southey has done much in his admirable work; but the absence of all references to authorities detracts considerably from the value of his excellent performance. This circumstance has also afforded a handle for cavil to the enemies of our Church, who hesitate not, in consequence of the omission which we sincerely regret, to impugn the truth of his statements. The work of Mr. Short, though valuable as an abstract, is not, perhaps, quite equal to his well-earned reputation in the university of which he is a distinguished ornament. Dissenting writers, from Neal down to Mr. Orme, have dwelt largely in their respective works on the ecclesiastical history of our country; and while on the one hand they have, by their combined efforts, endeavoured to represent Dissent in the most attractive light, they have not failed on the other hand, with the most surprising uniformity of consent, to misrepresent and abuse the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England. Yet it is through such distorted mediums that the dissenting community are accustomed to receive their impressions of the ecclesiastical history of the period. Neal's prejudices and uncandid statements on all subjects connected with the Church of England are notorious; and the man who forms his estimate of the characters and proceedings of the bishops and others who flourished during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and the first Charles, from his pages, will arrive at conclusions totally at variance with the truth of history. Yet by many persons Neal is quoted and appealed to as an impartial historian. The man who is anxious to obtain a clear view of the state of the Church during the period extending from the commencement of the Reformation to the accession of James I., must consult the accurate and laborious Strype, who was too honest not to state facts with the strictest impartiality, and whose labours are a rich mine to the ecclesiastical historian. It is a subject of deep regret that no one has been found to collect and arrange materials for the history of the Church in the subsequent reigns to the time of the Revolution.

The controversies between the Papists and the Church, as also between the latter and the Puritans, would, if detailed with candour and impartiality, form an interesting chapter in our ecclesiastical history. To the controversies alluded to might be added the disputes among those various sects into which the body of the Puritans became divided subsequent to the death of the first Charles. The controversies of any particular period not only mark its character, but are a kind of landmark to the historian in his researches. Ample materials might be gathered from the controversial writings of the period to which we allude: the works of Jewel and others at and subsequent to the era of the Reformation open a copious source of information on the Romish controversy; while those of Cartwright and Whitgift may be consulted with equal advantage on those questions on which the Church and the Puritans were at issue. Almost every half-century has been marked or characterized by its peculiar controversy, which, though now forgotten, was of absorbing interest at the time; and which, though devoid of interest to general readers, must be thoroughly understood by those who would form an accurate estimate of the state of religion. The puritanical controversy might indeed be brought to bear with considerable effect on the questions at issue between Churchmen and Dissenters. It is the custom with the latter to boast of the antiquity of the congregational system,—the system adopted by all the numerous sections into which Dissenters are divided; they boldly affirm that no other mode was practised in the Church prior to the time of Constantine. Experience proves that nothing is so likely to secure the belief of the multitude in any particular statements as the assumption of a bold and fearless tone: and of the truth of this position our dissenting writers seem fully aware; knowing that by the multitude strong assertions are taken for arguments, and that the greater the assurance with which the assertions are made, the greater credit do they obtain with superficial observers. It must be total ignorance on the subject, or a total disregard to truth, that leads the Dissenters to claim such high antiquity for their system; nor can any other reasons be assigned for the universal reception of such erroneous statements among the members of the dissenting community. Congregationalism, or the independency of each congregation, was certainly unknown in the apostolic age; it was unknown to the Church during the space of fifteen hundred years subsequent to the death of Christ; nor was it ever heard of until Robinson, Brown, Ainsworth, and others, separated from their puritanic brethren; it was the offspring of those excesses which arose after the Reformation; and though now universally practised among modern Dissenters, it was denounced by the Puritans

even as a dangerous heresy. It has not, notwithstanding the assertions of Dissenters, any more foundation in Scripture or antiquity than those other novelties of the same period which sprang from the same source, and which, after a short-lived existence, sank into decay, and are now remembered only as matters of history.

Mr. Orme hesitates not to claim the authority of Scripture and antiquity for the system of independency; nor do any of the dissenting writers of modern times shrink from similar pretensions. There doubtless was more than one congregation in Rome, in Corinth, and in other cities and countries in which the churches, addressed in the apostolic epistles, were planted; yet St. Paul addressed his epistles to all of them collectively forming the Church in Rome, or in Corinth, or in any particular place. In all cities and states the congregations, however numerous, were under one kind of government, and one particular mode of discipline,—they were all united together into one body as the Church; yet, according to the principles of modern Dissent, there may be many distinct churches in one city varying from each other in worship and discipline. The Dissenters are, however, constrained to acknowledge that independency was unknown in the Church from the age of Constantine down to the seventeenth century; a circumstance, in our opinion, conclusive on the subject, and decisive as to the mode of government previously existing; for it is scarcely possible to believe, that if independency had been the system adopted in the apostolic age, there would have been at such an early period so wide a departure from primitive simplicity. We can hardly believe it possible for a Dissenter to suppose that the primitive and apostolic platform of discipline should be buried amidst the innovations of the fourth century, and not be again heard of in the history of the Church until its resurrection in the seventeenth; yet such is the avowed belief of Dissenters. How can we account for these things? We are acquainted with a gentleman, once a Dissenter, though now separated from his former friends, who has often assured us, that many Dissenters take matters upon trust, and believe, on these subjects, whatever is told them. He mentioned himself as an illustration of his assertion. He stated that he once believed that it was not lawful to baptize infants, and he firmly believed, though he had never examined the subject for himself, that there was no mention of infant baptism in the writings of the fathers prior to the fourth century. This belief was grounded on the assertions to that effect made by his party both in books and in conversation. Being, however, a man of considerable powers, it struck him that he ought not to rest satisfied with bare assertions, but examine for himself. The result was a total change of views on this subject,



for he discovered that the writings of the earliest fathers contained numerous traces of the existence of such a practice in the apostolic and succeeding ages. Now we feel assured that many Dissenters are exactly in the same position relative to the subject of church government; like him they take things upon trust, and give credit to the assertions of others without examining for themselves. When the system was first broached by Robinson, Jacob, and Brown, it was denounced by all the leaders of the Puritans as an unscriptural and dangerous novelty. Let the question be carefully examined, and we feel assured that, in the estimation of impartial judges, it will be found to be wholly destitute of any foundation in the word of God or in the writings of the apostolic fathers. But how very few Dissenters are willing to sit down to an examination of the subject!

The volumes of Mr. Orme are extensively circulated among Dissenters, and his assertions are received as undisputed facts by the great mass of his readers. We feel it, however, to be our duty to warn the public against his erroneous statements; for his strong prejudices on all those subjects connected with the discipline of our Church are so conspicuous on almost every page, his hostility to our establishment is so inveterate, that he cannot be considered a safe guide through that stormy, yet interesting portion of our history embraced in these volumes. In vain shall we search for moderation or impartiality in his pages. The two works may be viewed as a history of the times during which Baxter and Owen flourished; for these two individuals were beyond all comparison the most eminent and distinguished of their party, and acted a conspicuous part in the proceedings of that eventful period.

Mr. Short commences his history with the introduction of Christianity into England; but a very brief space is occupied with the period prior to the Reformation. The Reformation was one of the most important events of modern times; it is not, therefore, surprising that many pens have been employed on the subject; nor, indeed, is it strange that various and discordant opinions should have been formed on the characters of its principal actors. By the Papists the work itself, as well as the individuals by whose instrumentality it was effected, are denounced without scruple; and even by some Protestant writers the great men who were so instrumental in its accomplishment, have been treated with unbecoming severity. Though the characters engaged in any particular work reflect neither credit nor disgrace on the work itself, yet as many Roman Catholic writers labour to represent the Reformers in the most odious light, it becomes the duty of those who value the blessings secured to us by the Reformation,

to defend them from unjust charges, and to vindicate their memory from unfounded calumny. We think that Mr. Short has scarcely done justice to the character of Henry VIII. We do not wish to become the advocates of the king; but even the memory of Henry ought not to be loaded with unmerited reproaches. Speaking of the divorce, Mr. Short observes,—

“It is even probable that the existence of the scruple preceded the affection which Henry bore to Anne Boleyn; but neither of these points is of much importance at present, though they have been discussed as if the character of the Reformation depended on the principles which actuated those with whom it originated. Of the sincerity of Henry’s religious scruples, and the real tenderness of his conscience, there can now remain no great difference of opinion; if all these particulars were established in his favour it would probably produce no great change in our sentiments concerning him.”—vol. i. p. 130.

In allusion to the same subject, in a note, Mr. Short remarks, “The Roman Catholics may reject him, but Protestants will hardly claim him as their own.”—vol. i. p. 136.

We must repeat our doubt, then, whether justice is done to the character of the king by Mr. Short. Why should he speak of Henry’s scruples, as if there was any doubt of their existence prior to his affection for Anne Boleyn? Even Rapin, though by no means prejudiced in favour of Henry’s reputation, admits that the king had not seen Anne when the subject was first brought under discussion. It is well-known that Henry bestowed deep attention upon theological subjects; and the marriage of a brother’s wife was just one of those topics to which, in such an age, his attention would have been directed. We see, therefore, no reason for believing, and especially in the face of opposite evidence, that affection for Anne Boleyn and not religious scruples originated the divorce.

Among the evils connected with the Reformation we are disposed to place as one of the greatest the alienation of the monastic property. On this subject our opinions are at variance with those of Mr. Short. He approves of the suppression of the religious houses; and intimates his belief, that had they been permitted to exist they would have impeded the Reformation. In this sentiment we cannot altogether concur; for though the monastic establishments had been preserved, it does not follow that they might not have undergone a reformation, and have been placed upon a foundation, so as to have served the cause of religion and of learning, and have rendered that support to Protestantism which they had formerly contributed to Popery. We recollect that, in the fervour of religious zeal by which the Scottish Reformation was distinguished at its commencement, it was pro-

posed to pull down the churches as buildings that had been polluted by idolatrous worship ; and the only argument used on the occasion was this,—“ We must pull down the nests or the rooks will again return.” It appears that Mr. Short entertains some opinion of this kind relative to the monastic establishments : he appears to imagine, that in some way or other their continuance would have proved a barrier to the progress of the Reformation. We, however, hesitate not to avow our regret at their suppression ; at all events the property ought to have been devoted to ecclesiastical purposes. It would, indeed, have been far better to have preserved them in their original state, making, of course, such alterations in their constitution as the Reformation in the Church would have rendered necessary, than to have squandered their property on needy and rapacious courtiers, whose only motive for advocating the suppression was the hope of sharing in the spoils. Much of this species of ecclesiastical property is still held by the descendents of the very men to whom it was originally granted ; and as some of these individuals have recently advocated, both in and out of Parliament, the principle, that the property of the Church may be appropriated to other purposes by the state, they are bound in justice to admit the same claim in reference to that portion of their present possessions, which has been derived to them from the monastic establishments, and which is exactly of the same description with that still held by the Church of England. Let the principle be applied to all property that was at any time ecclesiastical, and we shall hear no more from the individuals in question of the appropriation by the State of the property of the Church.

The disputes by which the peace of the Church was broken subsequent to the Reformation are well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history. They had their commencement in the scruples of Hooper, who was selected by the young king, Edward VI., to fill the see of Gloucester. In his estimate of this original dispute, we cannot but think that Mr. Short’s opinions are unsound.

“ The dispute was an unfortunate one, being the first of a series which for years agitated our Church ; but on a calm examination of the subject, at a period, it is to be hoped, that such indifferent matters may be viewed without prejudice, it must be granted, that though the distinction of ecclesiastical dress appears in itself to be useful, yet it may seem too that the policy of the government would have been wiser had they left Hooper to his own conscientious scruples, and found some other divine, who, without possessing less sincerity, was not so strongly bent on following his own opinion in trifles.”

We observe, that the king insisted on the elevation of Hooper,

and it would therefore have been a dangerous precedent either to have yielded to his scruples, or to have permitted him to remain in a private station, simply on account of his objections to the Episcopal habits, when once the appointment had taken place; for it should be remembered that Hooper had been actually nominated to the see, and his scruples were not disclosed until the arrangements for his consecration were in progress. Had his scruples been regarded, it would have been scarcely possible to avoid similar concessions in the cases of others, whose objections might have been of a different kind. It would, indeed, have been wiser not to have contemplated his promotion; but it appears that prior to the preparations for his consecration the existence of such scruples was not known. It is probable that Hooper's friends may have deemed his treatment severe; yet, under the circumstances in which the Reformers were placed, it would have been difficult for them to have acted otherwise.

On the subject of our articles our views coincide with those of Mr. Short, who combats the notion so industriously propagated by certain Churchmen, that they were intended to be articles of peace, and not a standard of faith:—

“There is no historical evidence to confirm an idea not unfrequently entertained, viz., that they were drawn up for the sake of promoting peace and tranquillity, and as a compromise of opinions rather than a standard of faith. We shall perceive in them a desire to avoid curious and unprofitable questions, as well as to leave disputed points to the judgment of the individual; and undoubtedly several of the articles are so framed, that conscientious persons, holding different sentiments, may safely subscribe to them; but latitude of interpretation, which is suited to the weak and doubtful, cannot be granted to those whose decided sentiments are at variance with the plain and grammatical sense of the formularies of our Church.”—vol. i. p. 276.

The authority of Paley has undoubtedly been instrumental in fostering the notions censured by Mr. Short. Should it be allowed that the articles were merely articles of peace, the safety of the Church would be endangered; an inlet would be opened through which individuals of the most heterodox sentiments would enter into the vineyard. We hope, however, that such a view is maintained but by very few members of our establishment; of this fact, indeed, we are certain, that persons maintaining such an opinion act in opposition to the very spirit and constitution of the English Church.

Our author asserts, that Cranmer's views on the question of Church government were Erastian. It is also his opinion that an Erastian could subscribe the XIXth, XXIst, and XXIIIrd Articles. (vol. i. p. 293.) At that time the unlawfulness of Episcopacy

had not been broached; hence the Reformers were not called upon to state their views with precision on such a question. It is, however, certain that they entertained no kind of doubt on the subject; and if Cranmer and some of the other Reformers have expressed themselves with less decision than could have been wished, or in such a manner as to give the semblance of support to the Erastian theory, we must not forget that they had just cast off the authority of the pope, and were in consequence disposed to allow too great an influence to the civil power in matters ecclesiastical. But even granting that on some points they expressed themselves agreeably to the Erastian theory, we cannot discover in the articles and formularies of our Church any passages which can in any way be construed so as to support that system. That Episcopacy was the mode established by the Apostles, and continued in the Church without interruption during the long space of 1500 years, is a fact that can scarcely admit of question; but that there can be no supposable case, in which another mode of government could exist, is not asserted by our Church. On this subject we quote the following observations from an eminent prelate:—“ Though I flatter myself that I have proved Episcopacy to be an Apostolic institution, yet I readily acknowledge that there is no precept in the New Testament, which commands that every Church should be governed by bishops. No Church can exist without some government. As it has not pleased our Almighty Father to prescribe any particular mode of civil government for the security of temporal comforts to his rational creatures, so neither has he prescribed any particular form of ecclesiastical polity as absolutely necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness. The Scriptures do not prescribe any definite form of Church government.”—*Tomline's Elements*, vol. ii. p. 396. It is true that the New Testament has not prescribed a definite form; but comparing the New Testament with the practice of the Apostolic and succeeding ages, we shall have no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the Episcopal mode was that which received the sanction of the Apostles, and which was consequently prescribed by the Saviour, though not stated as a matter necessary to salvation in the writings of the New Testament. †

Among the topics discussed in Mr. Short's volumes, the treatment of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth is one upon which he appears to us to be mistaken. He is aware that at that time there was no difference of opinion between the Church and the Puritans as to the lawfulness of compulsory conformity. Toleration for separate worship, or even for the disuse of certain ceremonies retained and enjoined by the Church, was not the aim of the Puritans. They demanded the total rejection of the rites

and observances to which they objected, and required that the Church should be modelled according to their platform. On their part the struggle was not for freedom, but for precedency: and had the bishops yielded to their scruples on the points then in dispute, they would have been assailed on all sides by a host of other objectors, who would have alleged other grievances, from which they desired to be released. Mr. Short imagines that their scruples were not treated with tenderness, and that concessions might have been made with safety.—vol. i. 372, 374. Strype assures us that at this early period the Puritans were by no means harshly treated, and that none of them were deprived until after repeated admonitions. Mr. Short supposes that many of the first Puritans would have been satisfied with toleration. Does he mean a toleration for separate worship, or for the disuse of the obnoxious ceremonies? We believe that they would not have been satisfied with either: they soon began to speak of their system as the discipline of Christ: and as such they deemed it their duty to use every effort for its establishment in the Church. With such views they could scarcely have been satisfied with a toleration.

“Such steps, however,” says Mr. Short, “were little suited for the character of Elizabeth, who would as readily have surrendered her crown, as have allowed her subjects to exercise their private judgments on such matters; and the punishment of death was deemed the only remedy for Brownists, who denied the queen’s supremacy in any but civil matters.”—vol. i. p. 433, 434.

It is notorious that so far from being contented with a toleration, they would have pronounced it as a heresy pregnant with destruction to the Church. Some severities were undoubtedly exercised on the Brownists: but Mr. Short should have recollected, that by many of the Puritans, had they obtained the ascendancy in ecclesiastical matters, the Brownists would have been subjected to the same treatment. These severities ought to be attributed to their true cause, namely, the false maxims of the age, and not, as Mr. Short insinuates, to the character of Elizabeth. The punishment inflicted on the Brownists was doubtless very severe, and not at all consonant with the principles of the present enlightened times; but in the estimation of the advisers of Elizabeth there was much treason mingled with their practices. They were not punished for their non-conformity, but for refusing to acknowledge the queen’s supremacy; and Mr. Short must be aware that it would have been extremely dangerous to have treated with lenity men who refused to make such an acknowledgment. We mean not by these observations to justify the measures of the queen’s government; all we do mean is simply this, that in

forming our estimate of the practices of that age, we ought not to lose sight of the circumstances in which the queen was placed. The supremacy was denied by the Roman Catholics, and many suffered death for their denial. To deny it was made treason; and to have put the Romanists to death for an offence of which others professing Protestant principles were equally guilty, would have been an act of great injustice. Situated as the queen was, she could scarcely have ventured to treat them with forbearance, especially as it was well known that forbearance would only have encouraged them to acts of more decided hostility.

We lament that such divisions should have arisen among Protestants; but we must contend that the blame chiefly lies at the door of the Puritans. This assertion may perhaps be controverted even by some Churchmen; yet when it is remembered that the Puritans did not object to any of the principles of the Church of England, but merely to a few unimportant ceremonies,—when, moreover, it is recollected that these very men would have imposed their own system upon the whole Church, the assertion will not appear to be groundless. It would have been wiser to rest satisfied with the settlement effected by the Reformers than to agitate and disturb the peace of the Church on such subjects. The obnoxious ceremonies were not deemed sinful even by the Puritans. In such a case it was plainly the duty of the minority to yield to the views of the majority, and to sacrifice their own private views to the public welfare. On this question Mr. Short has in our opinion conceded too much to our opponents. He charges the queen, Parker, Aylmer, and Whitgift, with severity in enforcing conformity.—(vol. i. p. 477.) We ask, how could they have acted otherwise than they did? So far were the bishops from acting with severity that, according to Fuller, Strype, and others, they acted with unusual forbearance. To have avoided giving offence would have been impossible; but we must protest against the practice of fixing the mark of undue severity on the governors of the Church. We cannot but regret that Mr. Short should, by his observations, have fostered the opinion, so repeatedly advanced by Dissenters, that the Puritans were treated with greater harshness than the circumstances of the times rendered necessary.

It affords us pleasure to find Mr. Short defending Laud from the charges so uncharitably heaped upon him by the malice of his enemies. Laud was a great and a good man; nor were his enemies unacquainted with his excellent qualities, or they would not have sought his life with such eagerness and unchristian zeal. They envied his greatness, while they were jealous of his abilities, and they were bent upon his destruction as a hated and dangerous enemy. From Mr. Orme he meets with no mercy. “The best

of the Clergy," says he, "were under Laud's administration either silenced or obliged to leave the country."—*Life of Owen*, p. 17. *The best of the Clergy!* Non-conformity, according to Mr. Orme, is a virtue. For this alone the puritanic Clergy were better than their conforming brethren. We ask, however, were not the Clergy who complied with the ceremonies as conscientious and exemplary as those who refused to conform? Might not some of these men have been influenced by other motives than those for which such writers as Mr. Orme give them credit? Is not the love of singularity, or the desire of notoriety, as likely to lead men to act in opposition to authority as scruples of conscience?

"If they did not," says Mr. Orme, "bow to the altar, would not read the book of sports, or were guilty of the crime of holding lectures, or of preaching twice on the Lord's day, it was enough to bring them before the High Commission Court, and subject them to all its oppressive and iniquitous censures."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. ii. p. 259.

This is notoriously false. They were not subjected to oppressive censures on the charges mentioned in the preceding extract. It is, indeed, true that the above were some of the charges alleged against those who appeared before the commission; but they were not the whole, nor yet the principal; nor would any individual have been suspended or deprived on these charges alone. In every case of suspension or deprivation the individual refused to subscribe to the articles and formularies, and to conform to the ceremonies, of the Church. These very men had taken the oath of canonical obedience, by which they were bound to submit to the ordinary in all lawful matters; and it was the duty of the bishop to take care that the laws of the Church were not broken with impunity; they had assented to the established order and discipline; and it was for breaches of discipline, and not merely for the matters specified by Mr. Orme, that they were questioned in the Court of Commission.

Though we have animadverted upon some of the views entertained by Mr. Short, we yet consider his work to be exceedingly valuable, and admirably calculated for the individuals for whom it is intended by the author. Of Mr. Orme's works we shall be constrained to speak with unqualified disapprobation, and in terms of extreme severity. In allusion to the efforts of the Puritans our author remarks:—

"It cannot be doubted, that had their object been accomplished, the Church of England would have been much improved, and so far as externals are concerned, it would have been brought nearer the model of Scripture, and thus rendered more worthy of the designation of which



her sons are so proud, 'the glory and bulwark of the Reformation.' But although they had succeeded, so long as the spiritual and temporal kingdoms remained incorporated, the root of the evil must still have continued."—*Life of Owen*, p. 7.

The cloven foot of independency is distinctly seen through the flimsy covering of the above extract. The author deprecates an established Church as an evil; we, on the other hand believe, that the Church has been the means of the preservation of the religion of our land. Were the whole country left to the system of independency, or, in other words to the voluntary system, most of the congregations, being without articles, creeds, and formularies, would soon be merged in Socinianism, or indifference. We believe that whatever is good in Dissent is mainly owing to the existence and preservation of the Establishment; from the Establishment, Dissent takes its tone. Let the Establishment be swept away, and not only would true religion suffer, but the religion even of Dissenters would be deteriorated. It is an extraordinary feature in the controversy now existing between the voluntaries and the Church, that the lawfulness and necessity of an established Church were never questioned until the rise of Brownism and Independency in the seventeenth century. Surely, it is too absurd to imagine that such an important discovery as the unlawfulness of the connexion between the Church and the State should have been reserved for the men of the present generation. If the connexion involve such consequences, as Mr Orme in the volumes before us, and the whole tribe of voluntaries in their tracts and speeches assert, we cannot conceive that God, as the moral governor of the world, would have permitted the evil to remain through so long a series of ages. The advocates of Dissent are not gifted with greater powers; they are not men of greater sagacity; nor are they better interpreters of the sacred text, or more deeply versed in the writings of the early fathers, than those who have, from the earliest ages, contended for the principle that it is the duty of a Christian government to provide, by means of an established Church, for the spiritual wants of the people. It is rather too much to assert, as is virtually done by the Independents, that all the world are in error on the question of Church government, except the advocates of their own system. Nothing short of a special revelation could warrant the use of the strong language adopted by the defenders of the voluntary principle.

It was not till within the last few years that the Dissenters openly avowed their hostility to the Established Church; many, indeed, have frequently professed a great veneration for her institutions, and have expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the repose secured to them by the Toleration Act; but now war is

openly declared; and they have taken their stand on the question of Church-rates—a question which involves the whole principle of an establishment. Though this subject is not directly agitated in Mr. Orme's volumes, it yet is so intimately connected with the principles for which he contends, that we cannot refrain from a few remarks. The very existence of an Established Church involves the necessity of keeping up the parochial fabrics at the expense of the public. When the plea of injustice is alleged by Dissenters as a ground for refusing the payment of Church-rates, it appears to us that the true state of the question is altogether lost sight of; the property of Dissenters was purchased subject to a particular charge, and they have nothing whatever to do with the mode in which the money collected by the rate is applied by the State. Nor can the plea of conscience be maintained by one single argument of weight. How can conscience be concerned in the matter; the sum paid by the Dissenter is not his own property,—what are his claims upon it? How did he become possessed of it? The State has imposed a certain tax on the property of the country to be devoted to a particular purpose, with which the person who pays it has no concern whatever; he receives his property subject to such a charge, and he is only the medium through which the impost is collected. What becomes then of the plea of conscience? How can their consciences be involved in the payment of a sum upon which they have no claim whatever, any more than in the payment of poor-rates or assessed taxes, both of which are enforced by the law. But we have a graver charge to allege against the body of the Dissenters in their adoption of this plea. Let us take the case of a town in which a petition is prepared for presentation to parliament; the plea of conscience is urged in the petition; and it is finally presented as the petition of men who cannot conscientiously submit to the payment of Church-rates. We have shown the fallacy of the plea on general grounds; but we ask who are the persons whose signatures are attached to the document? It contains the names of many Dissenters; but are the names of Dissenters only to be found in the list? It purports to be a petition against Church-rates; as such, persons are invited to sign it; and it is notorious that in large towns, the places from which such petitions chiefly emanate, the majority of persons whose names are subscribed are not Dissenters; they are alike regardless of the principles of the Church or those of Dissent, yet they are prepared to unite with the Dissenters in their attacks on the institutions of the country. Still it cannot be pleaded that these persons have any conscientious scruples on the subject; and to permit them to affix their signatures to petitions in which such a plea is set up, is an act of

dishonesty, to give it no worse name, on the part of those who are the principal actors in such scenes.

The necessity of an Established Church was insisted on by the Non-conformists, in 1662, as strenuously as by the Episcopalians. By the fathers of non-conformity the voluntary system was deprecated as an evil of no small magnitude. They knew from personal experience that the means supplied by it would be inadequate to the wants of the people. They depended for subsistence on voluntary contributions; yet even under such circumstances, circumstances calculated to elicit the sympathy of those who valued their ministry, their pittance was exceedingly scanty. Should the Established Church be even swept away, an effort would undoubtedly be made by Churchmen in every part of the kingdom to provide for the maintenance of the settled ministry; but could it be hoped that these exertions would be continued? Might we not fear that after a short season of apparent prosperity these efforts would die away. Should the parishes of our land be left to the tender mercies of the voluntary system, what an inlet would be opened for the admission of jesuitical and fanatical emissaries, who would not fail, when the parish Church was closed, to disseminate the poison of their principles among the unlettered portion of our countrymen.

We proceed to notice another sentiment advocated by Mr. Orme, and admitted by Dissenters in general. Alluding to the ministry of the Church and to the mode of entering it, Mr. Orme observes, "Some radical mistake must exist when the Church of Christ becomes, or is capable of being made, the theatre of worldly ambition." That some individuals do enter the ministry from unworthy motives is readily admitted: but is the Church of England alone exposed to such a calamity? Are the clergy for instance, as a body, better paid than dissenting ministers! Few Dissenters receive less than one hundred pounds per annum, yet there are hundreds of clergymen who are remunerated at the rate of eighty, fifty, or even forty pounds, without the slightest prospect of an addition from ecclesiastical sources. There is nothing here very tempting to worldly ambition—nor are dissenting ministers less exposed to temptation in this respect than the clergy. An income of one hundred pounds per annum, and a better station in society, are as likely to tempt a tradesman to enter the ministry among the Dissenters, as are the livings and the curacies of the Church to induce a man to enter the ministry of the Establishment. We believe that secular views are quite as prevalent among dissenting ministers as they are among the clergy of our Church.

There are many other points on which we conceive that our

system will bear a comparison with that of Dissenters, and that the decision will be in our favour. In reference to the question of subscription to articles of faith, Mr. Orme charitably remarks :

“ All such subscriptions are unrighteous impositions, impede the progress of truth, ensnare the minds of the subscribers, and operate as a bounty on hypocrisy. They secure a monopoly of privileges to the chartered corporations, and exclude from the enjoyment of advantages that ought to be common, a large portion of the principle and talent of the country.”—*Life of Owen*, p. 21.

Such is the gentle censure of our practice of subscription by an Apostle of Dissent: yet this very practice is common, nay, universal, with Dissenters; for not only are dissenting ministers compelled to assert their general agreement in matters of importance with the body to which they attach themselves, but also in things of the most trivial nature. We do not quarrel with Dissenters for requiring a confession of faith from their ministers; but we complain, and we think with justice, of their reprobation of subscription as enjoined by the Church of England, while their own practice is in exact accordance with that, which is so vehemently denounced. The latitude granted to the clergy is far greater than that permitted among Dissenters. It not unfrequently happens that a dissenting minister is rejected for opinions on some minor matters, which chance to be at variance with those entertained by the majority of his flock. To the articles and formularies of the Church her ministers are bound to subscribe; in the case of refusal, exclusion from the ministry, or, if subsequent to ordination, from any parochial charge, is the certain consequence: and where lies the hardship of such a proceeding? Dissenters, it is true, have no articles of faith—no formularies—no public documents to which they can appeal as standards of doctrine; but are their ministers at liberty to maintain any sentiments that are likely to be unpalatable to the people? May not dissenting ministers complain of the hardship and injustice of being compelled to adopt opinions in accordance with those of the people? Before a minister is chosen by a congregation, whether it be Independent, Baptist, Socinian, or any of those numerous sects which have from time to time separated from the larger communions, he is under the necessity of rendering an account of his creed to the members of the congregation over whom he wishes to be placed, as the price of his admission to the office of their pastor. Such is the practice, and our mental vision does not enable us to distinguish any difference between this practice and the subscription required of her ministers by the English Church: the latter demands the assent to a written form, the

former require an oral confession; and we contend that the practice of the Church is more liberal than that of the Dissenters; for unless the dissenting candidate shapes his confession so as to suit the views of the people, he is necessarily rejected; or should he, subsequent to his appointment, preach doctrines contrary to those of the congregation, he would be most unceremoniously dismissed. This practice, according to our judgment, is more arbitrary than that which enjoins subscription to a form of sound words, the meaning of which every one can easily comprehend, and whose doctrines are ever the same. When it is alleged that the articles are a snare to the clergy, Dissenters cannot complain if we contend that the temptation is as great to a dissenting minister, who is conscious that in order to the exercise of his ministry with a particular congregation, his sentiments must exactly coincide with those of the people. It is the veriest trifling to assert that Dissenters are not called upon to subscribe to forms and ceremonies, for do they not virtually do the same thing, when they profess to belong to a particular body distinguished by certain peculiarities from all other classes, and when any deviation from the received practice would subject them not to censure but actual expulsion from the ministerial charge?

The discipline of our Church is another favourite subject of remark and censure among Dissenters, and, as far as the charge can be alleged with truth, we are perfectly ready to admit it. "The entire want of discipline," says Mr. Orme, "which has always characterised the established Church, is one of its greatest blots. There is no separation whatever between the precious and the vile."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. i. p. 158. The writer affects to speak of the Church in the language of pity, and to lament the laxity of her discipline. Why, we ask, should a man, who in other places speaks of the very constitution of the Church as unscriptural, manifest such apparent anxiety concerning the laxity of her discipline? Are Dissenters really grieved in consequence of the discipline of the English Church? Alas! such professions are vain! It cannot be supposed that they are anxious to see the Church flourish. There is the greatest inconsistency in the conduct of Dissenters on this subject; they tell us that the Church is unscriptural, and then they affect to lament that her discipline is so defective. Do they wish to see her discipline improved? Would they in parliament support such measures as would seem calculated to produce such a result? We believe not; nay, on this subject we may speak with certainty, for it is notorious that some measures, introduced into parliament in the session of 1836, calculated to advance the interests of the Church, were stopped in their progress by the popish and dissenting

party, who are fearful of her power, and the influence of her ministers with the people; or rather the measures to which we allude, were relinquished at the instigation of the radical and dissenting party. It is however our firm conviction that Dissenters are not in a better state as to this matter. Among themselves there is the same mixture of the precious and the vile. We do not believe that more purity exists among dissenting congregations, than is to be found in those of the Church of England.

Much has been said and written on the origin of the civil war, and according to the opinions of different parties is the guilt of its commencement charged upon Charles or the Long Parliament. Mr. Orme has no hesitation in attributing the whole of the evils by which the country was afflicted to the unfortunate monarch: "The continual breaches made in the constitution by Charles I., from the period of his accession to the throne, till he was forced to leave it; by his arbitrary treatment of his parliament, by his persevering attempts to render himself independent of them; by his illegal mode of raising money; by the oppression and cruelty with which those who asserted their civil or religious liberty were treated; these were the real causes of the war."—*Life of Owen*, p. 23. Let us now hear Mr. Hallam on the same subject, who is a constitutional Whig, but not a Dissenter; as a historian he is so honest as to attribute the war to its true cause, the Long Parliament. "Of the parliament it may be said that scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of particular wisdom, are recorded of them from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell."—vol. ii. p. 209. Again the same writer remarks: "After every allowance, he must bring very heated passions to the records of these times who does not perceive in the conduct of the parliament a series of glaring violations, not only of positive and constitutional, but of those higher principles which are paramount to all immediate policy." He elsewhere observes, that war was inevitable when Hotham shut the gates of Hull against his sovereign; yet the members of the Long Parliament are eulogized by Mr. Orme for their constitutional acts. "It is a duty, while recording events and describing characters as they really existed, to embrace every fair opportunity of vindicating the brave, and I must call them enlightened men, who fought the battle of England's liberties, and to whose memories a large debt of gratitude still remains undischarged."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. i. p. 67. That this gentleman's feelings are not dissimilar from those of the preachers of that period, who, from the pulpit and from the press, inflamed the minds of the people at the commencement of the war against the king and the Church, is evident from the above ex-

tract. It is also clear that a very large share of the blame of the war must attach to the ministers; nor is Owen exempt from the same charge, though a defence is set up for him by Mr. Orme, who labours to prove that the following passage is nothing more than "a mere rhetorical application of the words of Scripture—with the design of impressing the importance of remembering past mercies." The passage occurs in one of Owen's sermons.—"Where is the God of Marston Moor? and the God of Naseby is an acceptable expostulation in a gloomy day. Oh what a catalogue of mercies hath this nation to plead in a time of trouble! God came from Naseby and the Holy One from the west."—See *Life of Owen*, p. 87. It is evident from the preceding extract that Mr. Orme, like his hero Owen, views the victory at Naseby as a special mercy sent from heaven. Mr. Orme does not even attempt to defend Owen from the heavy charge of stirring up the war; he evidently approves of the proceedings of the parliament. "Though," says he, "they were guilty of occasional evils, and produced temporary confusion, the great objects which they contemplated were never lost sight of, and the result of the struggle was in a high degree glorious."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. i. p. 47. Is this, we ask, the language in which a Christian, whatever might be his political opinions, would desire to speak on such a subject as the civil wars? The man, who in the nineteenth century could pen such a passage, would have been found, had he lived at the period in question, among the foremost of those who from the pulpit were so active in promoting the contest against their sovereign. Mr. Hallam's views on this subject are much more just than those which are maintained by this Christian minister:—"When we read the violent and barbarous proceedings of the parliament, is it consistent with honesty or humanity to hold up that assembly to admiration while the faults on the king's side are studiously aggravated?"—*Hallam*, vol. ii. p. 244. For a minister of religion to speak of the results of the contest as glorious, is surely very much in opposition to the principles of the Gospel. Mr. Orme is gone to his account; but his works remain and are extensively read by Dissenters, and it is necessary to guard the public against their erroneous and partial statements.

It has been the practice since the days of Calamy, the first chronicler of their trials, to speak in strong terms of the sufferings of the ejected ministers, and to institute a comparison between their trials and those of the episcopal clergy sequestered between 1640 and 1660. The Dissenters are accustomed to contend that the severities of 1662 were infinitely greater than those of the previous period, but we are of opinion that the contrary position

has been completely established. No one was ejected in 1662 on suspicion, whereas during the war numbers were sequestered in consequence of their supposed loyalty to the king and attachment to the episcopal Church. In 1662 conformity at all events secured to a man the possession of his living, but during the period of England's troubles even an acquiescence in the existing mode of worship was no security to the clergy, if their names were denounced to the parliament, or their persons were obnoxious to any of their discontented parishioners. After all the attempts to inflict a stigma on the character of the sequestered clergy, the only charge that could be substantiated against them was that of "malignancy," or opposition to the parliament. Though their enemies, both at that time and since, have laboured hard to fasten upon them the charge of immorality, yet to any one who takes the trouble to examine the proceedings of the period, it will be evident that *malignancy* was their only crime. From the pages of the notorious White himself we will undertake to establish the above position, and to repel the charge of immorality against the great body of the clergy. White published what he called "*A First Centurie of Scandalous Ministers.*" He doubtless selected the cases which, in his own estimation, were best calculated to support his charges; yet from the instances which he himself adduces, it is clear that the clergy in general were not guilty of any breaches of the rules of morality. Their sole crime, and in the estimation of the parliament it was a crime of no small magnitude, was a refusal to support the war against the king. The very title of the pamphlet was intended to imply that all the ejected clergy were scandalous in their conduct. It was a part of the policy of the parliament to jumble together a great number of charges besides that of malignancy, which was usually so mingled with the rest that the people were led to believe that it was only mentioned incidentally, and that the other charges were amply sufficient to justify a sequestration. Malignancy however is the real crime against those whose names are recorded in White's Centurie. A perusal of the pamphlet will, by its own internal evidence, convince the unprejudiced reader that the charge of immorality, the only crime that could justify the designation "scandalous ministers" in the pamphlet and in the parliamentary ordinances, was in most cases a mere pretence for the purpose of concealing from the public eye the fact that the individuals accused were sequestered for opposition to the parliament, and for that alone. We will now proceed to an examination of White's pamphlet, for the purpose of justifying the preceding remarks.

The title, as already stated, was "*A First Centurie of scan-*



dalous, malignant Priests, made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates: or a Narration of the Causes for which the Parliament hath ordered the Sequestration of the Benefices of several Ministers complained of before them, for Vitiousness of Life, Errors in Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of our Religion, and for Practising and Pressing Innovations against Law, and for *Malignancy against the Parliament.*" Such is the title. The sting lies in the tail of it. The real and the only true charge is mentioned last. In the beginning they are in general designated "scandalous, malignant priests;" but at the close the charge of "malignancy against the parliament" is specified, in order to induce the belief that immorality constituted the chief crime for which they were sequestered. Our readers will perceive that the charges are very indefinite, yet very comprehensive; and if one failed, another could easily be established, for it was always easy to prove malignancy, which signified nothing more than a refusal to assist the parliament, or neutrality. The epistle to the reader contains what may be deemed a kind of bill of fare of what may be expected from the body of the work. "In this book, thou shalt have an assay of the gall and worme-wood of the Episcopal government, taken out of London, the metropolis, and of the counties adjacent, that when thou seest what vermine crawls upon, and devours the principall and vitall parts, thou maist reflect with a mournful heart upon the more miserable condition of Wales, and of the North, the more remote parts of this Kingdome, where upon scrutiny will be easily found many for one as vile and abominable as these." Then follows the conclusion from the foregoing premises:—

"Thou maist by perusal of this booke clearly see what manner of persons those clergie men be that favour the present course of his majestie against his parliament and people, and dislike and maligne the wayes of the parliament, they will appear unto thee to be such as cannot endure the purity: power and strictnesse of the true religion, that late reformation, and to be brought in their hearts, religion and lives to the holy word of God; that seek themselves and not the things of Jesus Christ; that are given over to vile affections, to persecutions, superstitions, ambition, covetousnesse, malignity, and all wickedness."

In the former extract the writer has insinuated that the state of the clergy in Wales and in the northern parts of the kingdom was far worse than in London and its neighbourhood, from which the cases recorded in the Centurie were selected; and Mr. Orme evidently acts upon the insinuations of White as though they were undoubted verities. How, it might be asked, did White become so intimately acquainted with the remote parts of the

kingdom? The inference is, that the insinuation is groundless. It was thrown out merely for the purpose of blackening the character of the clergy. Still it may be proved from White's own pamphlet, that the only charge admitting of proof in the case of the sequestered clergy was one of which they had no reason to be ashamed, that of malignancy. It would be folly to deny that in so large a body as the clergy of that day there were no cases of immorality, but they were fewer in proportion to their numbers than among any other class of the community. Nor indeed were all the immoral characters removed from their livings; for if a clergyman supported the parliament, and instigated his parishioners to contribute towards the support of the war, he was perfectly secure from the interference of the committees, even though his character were grossly immoral. To support the parliament in their attack upon the sovereign, was a virtue that covered a multitude of sins in the clergy.

There are in the *Centurie*, as the term implies, one hundred cases of sequestered clergymen: and in every instance the charge of malignancy is alleged, in some cases alone, in others coupled with charges affecting morals; but there is no single instance of the sequestration of a clergyman for immorality alone—a circumstance fully corroborative of our assertion that immorality did not, when unaccompanied with malignancy, expose a man to ejection from his living. White observes in the epistle to the reader, that he had published these cases to justify the proceedings of the parliament.—“And that the parliament may appear just in their doings and the mouth of iniquity may be stopped, this narrative of the crimes and misdemeanours of those sons of the earth are here published, that all the world may see, that the tongues of these that speake evil of the parliament are set on fire of hell, and lift up against heaven, and that they hide themselves under falsehood, and make lies their refuge.” In our opinion, this language indicates a conviction on the part of White himself that the proceedings of the parliament were marked with injustice. Had the charges alleged admitted of proof, these terms of reproach were not necessary. It is notorious that many of the clergy were eminent for learning as well as for their piety and pastoral labours. This was a fact that could not be disputed, and therefore White, who could not deny it, labours to use it to their disparagement: “And let not the learning of some few of these men (for which, if they had any grace to use it well, they were considerable) move thee to thinke they be hardly dealt with, for learning in a man unsanctified is but a pearle in a swine's snout. Arrius, Pelagius, Arminius, all of them learned, but thereby the more serviceable to do mischief in the Church, like Curio, who was *facundus* only

*ad reipublicæ perniciem.* Learning and knowledge we honour in any, but viciousnesse and lewdnesse we condemn in all; had some of these men sanctity of life as well as light of knowledge, they had been honourable to religion and useful to souls." Thus does this libeller of the clergy endeavour to traduce the men, whom he fails to convict of the charge of immorality.

The first name in the Centurie is that of John Wilson, vicar of Arlington, Sussex, who is charged with a nameless offence, and with asserting that "*the parliament were rebels.*" The second is that of John Agmes, curate of Lewis, in Kent, who is charged with drunkenness and "*opposition to the parliament.*" Charles Forbench, parson of Newly in Essex, was sequestered for swearing, carelessness in his pastoral functions, "*neglecting the monthly fasts, setting his men to plow, himself also working on those days;*" and for affirming "*that the Earl of Strafford was no traitor, and that he was put to death wrongfully by the parliament.*" Stephen Withers, parson of Kelvedon, Essex, was sequestered for enticing certain women to commit adultery, practising altar worship, administering the sacrament at the rails, not permitting his people to have above one sermon on the Lord's day, and for "*great malignity to the parliament.*" Emanuel Uty, rector of Chigwell, Essex, for speaking favourably of the Pope, exalting the power of the bishops, and for "*declaiming against the authority of the parliament.*" Edward Cherry, rector of Much-Holland, Essex, for bowing towards the east, upholding the same practice in his sermons, refusing the sacrament except at the rails, drunkenness, and for affirming "*that he never knew any good the parliament did, unless it were to rob the country and pick their purses.*" These are the first six names in the Centurie, and such are the charges alleged. We have given the substance of the charges, and sometimes the very words, which are printed in Italics. We have taken the first six as a fair sample of the whole Centurie: and we will now proceed to select a few other instances from different parts of White's production, for the purpose, not of specifying all the allegations which were of precisely the same kind, but of pointing out the difficulties under which the parliament laboured in framing and proving their charges against the clergy. Many of the charges were truly ludicrous, and would never have been brought forward, except in the total absence of others of a grave and serious kind.

John Gorsuch was charged with asserting "that some of the lords whom he named, were fools, bastards, and cuckholds." Nicholas Andrews, with saying, "that Peter's sword cut off but one ear, but long sermons, like long swords, cut off both at once, and that the silliest creatures have the longest ears." Cuthbert

Dale was removed from his benefice for maintaining "that the angels did mediate for the children of God; and that men might drinke one pot for necessity, a second for recreation, and a third for good fellowship;" and that seeing a stranger put on his hat in sermon time, he openly called him "saucy, unmannerly clowne." The chief charge against Daniel Horsemanden was that he had affirmed "that the late Deputy of Ireland was put to death wrongfully, and was sacrificed, as our Saviour Christ was, to give the people content." Joseph Davis was sequestered for asserting that "the parliament were rogues, and that those who died in their service at Edge-hill went to the devil." William Osbalston for supplying his Church "with scandalous and insufficient curates," and for asserting that "once hearing the Common Prayer is better than ten sermons." Richard Dulon for superstitious practices generally, and for a statement in his catechising "that children dying after baptism are saved by the faith of the godfathers and godmothers." Thomas Vaughan was charged with saying, "that to preach in season is to preach on Sundays in the forenoon, and out of season in the afternoon;" and "that to preach nothing but Scripture without authority of the Fathers, was like the devil's shearing of hogs, a great cry, but a little wool;" and "further, that he also said at the dissolution of the late parliament, that the members were a company of logger-headed fellows." The last case in the Centurie is one of the most singular of the whole. The charge alleged is that of improper language in the pulpit to stir up his auditory to laughter; and the following may be taken as a specimen. "A woman is worse than a sow in two respects; first, because a sow's skin is good to make a cart-saddle, and her bristles good for a sowter. Secondly, because a sow will run away if a man cry *hoy*, but a woman will not turn head, though beaten down with a leaver; and all the difference between a woman and a sow, is in the nape of the neck, where a woman can bend upwards but the sow cannot."

Such were some of the charges gravely exhibited against the clergy as a ground of sequestration by common informers and discontented parishioners, and listened to by the parliamentary committees, who eagerly sought the expulsion of those parochial ministers, whose views led them to look with favour upon the royal cause. These cases are selected at random from the Centurie, for the purpose of exposing the frivolousness of many of the charges brought against the clergy. The cause that needed such support must have been an unjust one. To the above were frequently added the charges of deserting the cure and non-residence; and in these the malice and dishonesty of the parliament may be detected, for in almost all the instances alleged of non-residence

or desertion, the accused were driven from their parishes by the parliamentary soldiers. In their absence a case was got up, presented to the committees, and their livings sequestered. The charge of drunkenness and incontinency is frequently adduced in the *Centurie*: but in almost every instance its falsehood was made apparent at a later period by Walker, who diligently set himself to rescue the memory of the sequestered clergy from unfounded aspersions. In short, the only real crime of which the clergy, whose names are blazoned forth by White, were guilty, is that of malignancy: yet Mr. Orme, who cannot be ignorant of the lying character of the *Centurie*, can assert that in White's publication "a most dreadful exposure is made of the ignorance, immorality, and incompetency of many of the established teachers."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. i. p. 32. Mr. Short remarks, "The accusations which were made against the clergy were, besides offences of a moral nature, generally the observance of ceremonies and malignancy: and it is wonderful that in such a scrutiny no more instances of vicious lives and conversations are recorded."—*Short*, vol. ii. p. 265.

In all the parliamentary ordinances, as well as in White's and other publications, the clergy are designated scandalous and insufficient ministers. Whenever, therefore, a clergyman was called before a committee, he fell under the imputation of being a scandalous minister. This method was resorted to by the parliament for the purpose of reflecting odium on the clergy and exposing them to the insults of the populace. Their accusers were always the most enthusiastic of the sectaries, with whom in that period of excitement almost every parish abounded; or some of the profligate characters, upon whose career of vice the clergy had been a check. When such witnesses were not only listened to, but actually invited to give evidence against the clergy, what was to be expected but sequestration and consequent poverty? At the Restoration, one principle was laid down; and the ministers of that period were duly apprised of the consequences of a refusal to comply with the requirements of the act. No unfair methods were resorted to for the purpose of defaming the characters of the men who refused to conform. Had a similar course been pursued by the Long Parliament;—had they adopted a test, or framed an act, however severe or unjust, whose enactments could be understood by the clergy, and by the application of which even more would have been excluded from their livings than were actually sequestered by the committees,—their proceedings would have been merciful in comparison of those harassing, long-continued, and vindictive measures, by which their steps were marked from the first commencement in the work of legislation to the period when they ceased to

exist as a legislative assembly. Not only were all sorts of abusive epithets accumulated against the clergy, but they were subjected to the petty though still vexatious insults of every man, who owed his clergyman a grudge, or who chose to gratify his vanity by exercising his power over those, whom he had formerly viewed with envy.

The death of the king has been the source of much disputation; nor is it probable that different parties will ever agree on this litigated question. Mr. Orme, with his usual ingenuity, labours hard to shift it from the Independents. "The real causes," says he, "are not to be found in the principles or members of any religious body; but are to be traced most probably to the duplicity and fickleness of Charles himself—to the unconstitutional and despotic principles perpetually instilled into his mind by his immediate attendants and confidential friends, and to the perilous circumstances of the democratic leaders, who had gone too far to recede, and were driven to this desperate stroke for their own salvation."—*Owen's Life*, 92, 93. The last clause in the preceding quotation certainly nullifies the two former, for when it is admitted that the circumstances of the leaders of the democratic party were such as to hurry them on to the most desperate measures, it is trifling to assert that Charles was the cause of his own death. The Independents were undoubtedly the immediate cause of that melancholy event; their principles were destructive of monarchy and kings; nor did they conceal their intentions or disguise their principles, though the attempt to do so has often been made for them since: but the Presbyterians also must stand condemned in the judgment of impartial posterity; they refused all concessions from the king until it was too late, and, rather than not secure their beloved presbytery, they were determined to run all hazards and risk the loss even of monarchy itself. We are aware that they did not contemplate such consequences as flowed from their obstinacy; but they ought to have seen that the course upon which the army, backed by the Independents and sectaries, had entered, was one that must inevitably issue in the destruction of the sovereign.

After the death of Charles, Independency became triumphant, to the great annoyance of the presbyterian clergy, who were eager to seize for their own Church that power which had been wrested from the bishops. The very notion of an Established Church was exploded by the Independents and Sectaries, who now abounded in every part of the country; and though the majority of the parochial churches were held by ministers of the presbyterian creed, yet there was not even the semblance of a national church. It was Cromwell's policy to encourage the growth of

Sectaries in the army and in the country, while his own views were carefully concealed. While, therefore, the present occupiers of the livings were permitted to remain undisturbed in their possessions, provided they did not oppose the new order of things, it became a primary object with him to strengthen the Independents and Sectaries, without entirely discarding the Presbyterians, by remodelling the committees for sequestration, and by infusing into those bodies principles more in accordance with his own and more calculated to promote his views. Accordingly, he joined Presbyterians and Independents together in these committees; and, instead of entrusting the examination and appointment of ministers to the Assembly of Divines, or to those nominated by their authority, as was the case during the reign of Presbytery, he constituted an entirely new body, composed adroitly of men of all parties, denominated the "*Triers*," to whom was committed the examination of the new ministers. In Wales almost all the clergy were ejected, while a few itinerants were appointed, who travelled from place to place, preaching in different quarters. Hence it happened that most of the churches were closed, and the people were not able to hear a sermon except at very distant intervals.

Mr. Orme labours to prove that there was nothing remarkable in the sects that sprang up during this period, and that they were not so numerous as is generally imagined. "Baxter's own account," he remarks, "which discovers no disposition to conceal or extenuate, shows that, beside the leading religious parties which were composed mostly of respectable persons, there were only five other sects that he could describe."—*Baxter*, vol. i. p. 120. Probably there were not five that Baxter could describe; but Mr. Orme omits to tell us how many there were, which neither Baxter nor any other man could describe. That the sects were most numerous is evident from contemporary publications, and that it was not possible for any one to describe them is also evident. But Mr. Orme is inconsistent with himself, for speaking in his former work of the same period, and on the same subject, he observes, "During the period of England's convulsions, many extravagances and abuses prevailed. New sects were every day springing up, each more fanatical or erroneous than the former; and though they had, in general, but an ephemeral existence, they produced, while they lasted, injurious effects on true religion, and left very baneful consequences behind them."—*Life of Owen*, p. 385. The works of contemporary authors, such as Edwards, Rutherford, Baillie, Gillespie, and others, as well as many of the sermons preached by the parliamentary divines before the two Houses, or before the Westminster Assembly, afford

the most striking and convincing evidence, that the number of sectaries at this period was almost beyond calculation, and that their peculiar principles were such that they could not be described. To mention even the names which are actually enumerated in the works to which we have alluded, would occupy a far larger space than we can devote to such a purpose. At a period when every man was at liberty to become a preacher, and when almost every soldier actually was a preacher, it would have been surprising indeed, if the sects had not been exceedingly numerous. It would be a task of very great difficulty to characterize all the sects of the present day: at that time the difficulty was infinitely greater.

By far the most remarkable individual of those tumultuous times was Oliver Cromwell, whose character is largely discussed in these volumes. It appears to us that Cromwell was less of an enthusiast than his chaplains. What is stated to have fallen from the lips of Sterry and Goodwin borders strongly on blasphemy. Mr. Orme therefore endeavours to show that the expressions alleged to have been used during Cromwell's illness, and at the time of his death, were never uttered, or that they were misinterpreted by some who heard them. Thus Mr. Orme labours to explain away the expressions in Goodwin's prayer, who, addressing the Deity, said, "thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." Mr. Orme remarks, that these were the words of the prophet Jeremiah, and that they were used in the same sense "in which the prophet employs them, not as denoting what God had done, but what he had permitted men to do." Mr. Orme did not choose to remember, when he penned this passage, that the sermons and the publications of the day afford specimens of enthusiasm as great as the above. In the dedication of a book to Richard Cromwell, during his protectorate, Oliver is designated "his sainted father, now with God." And if the following extracts from Owen do not savour of enthusiasm, they certainly indicate the grossest hypocrisy. "I present them to your Excellency, not only because the rise of my call to this service under God was from you, but also because, in carrying it on, I have received from you in weaknesses and temptations wherewith I am encompassed, that daily spiritual refreshment and support by inquiry into and discovery of the deep and hidden dispensations of God towards his secret ones, which my spirit is taught to value. The carrying on of the interest of the Lord Jesus amongst his saints, in all his ways, which are truth and righteousness, being the aim of your spirit in your great undertakings."—See *Owen's Dedication of the Branch of the Lord*. At a later period, in another dedication to Oliver, prefixed to his "Perseverance of



the Saints," he thus addresses him: "Sir, of both temporal and spiritual good things you have had the full experience—your interest and acquaintance with the latter is of incomparably more importance in itself, so answerably of more value and esteem unto you."

No one subject connected with the history of those times was more fiercely agitated than that of liberty of conscience. Since the establishment of universal toleration, it has been the fashion with many writers to hold up the Church of England as the enemy of religious liberty; though an impartial examination of facts will show, that in an age when all were intolerant, she acted with more leniency than any of those parties who were opposed to her. Mr. Orme contends, that the principles of toleration were first advocated by the Independents; yet the Independents of the Commonwealth refused to tolerate the Episcopalians, who, at a period when every sect revelled in liberty bordering on licentiousness, were proscribed even the use of the common-prayer in private. How can it be said that the Independents were the advocates of toleration! When it is alleged that the Independents actually persecuted those who differed from them, Mr. Orme, unable to deny the fact, observes, "That men, calling themselves Independents, may be persecutors, it would be foolish to deny; but that such conduct is inconsistent with the principles and the spirit of Independency, all who understand it must ever maintain."—*Owen's Life*, 335. This is a most convenient method of getting out of a difficulty, and one which may be resorted to alike by all parties. It is easy to say, the acts you allege cannot be imputed to the body, but to certain individuals, whose opinions are at variance with those of the majority. That the Independents, however, did actually persecute others, is clear from their conduct in New England. In England itself prelacy was excepted from toleration equally with popery, during the ascendancy of this party in the state, though a full toleration was conceded to the wildest sectaries. That they were as much inclined to persecute as others, if circumstances had favoured the establishment of their system, is a point that can admit of no question. Owen is adduced by Mr. Orme as one of the first, if not *the first*, advocate of toleration. It is true that Owen, during the latter part of his life, when suffering under restrictions, pleaded for liberty of conscience; but his sentiments were not always equally moderate. There was a time when he was as much opposed to toleration as the most bigoted Presbyterian. He asserts in one place, "that heresies and errors ought not to be tolerated; that is, men ought not to connive at them—but with all their strength and abilities, in all lawful ways, upon every just call, to oppose,

suppress, and overthrow them, to root them up and cast them out.”—See *Owen’s Practice of Church Government*. Some years subsequent to the date of the above publication, when Cromwell was about to establish himself in the Protectoratè, by means of the toleration of the sectaries, Owen expressed himself with more moderation. In a tract annexed to his sermon on the death of the king, he asserts, “that error has as much right to a forcible defence as truth.”

Because the Church of England was fenced about, subsequent to the Restoration, by the Act of Uniformity, it does not follow that she was more averse to toleration than her opponents. The ascendancy of the Presbyterians and Independents did not in the least soften them towards prelacy : it rather increased their bitterness : but the Church of England, at the period of the Revolution, willingly conceded the fullest toleration to those who refused to conform. She has been designated the most tolerant church in the world, and her history fully justifies the designation.

We cannot pass over some observations of Mr. Short, relative to the Act of Uniformity. In allusion to the ejected ministers, Mr. Short asks, “Could it be just to cast them out of all means of supporting themselves, and not assign them any portion of their benefices for their support? The usurping government, when triumphant, had allowed one-fifth of the revenues to those whom it ejected for their loyalty. The legitimate government turned out many loyal, though non-conforming clergymen, and made not the slightest provision for them.”—vol. ii. p. 267. Mr. Short must have known that the assignment of the *fifths* to the sequestered clergy, was a mere pretence—a mere mockery of their miseries—an act of greater cruelty than a positive denial of the smallest pittance : for it is well known that the *fifths* were never paid, and that the usurping government, though armed with authority, never enforced their payment. There was no redress for the clergy : for whenever they appealed to the courts of justice, the intrusive ministers succeeded by various pretences in silencing the pleas of the sufferers. These are facts that do not admit of the slightest doubt : and we are extremely sorry that Mr. Short should have lent the influence of his name to such a delusion, as the supposition that the *fifths* were actually paid. The advocates of Dissent will not fail to quote Mr. Short, to prove that the English Church was, at this period, more intolerant than those who were opposed to her discipline and worship.

Much odium has been cast upon the Act of Uniformity by every dissenting writer, from the period of its enactment down to the present time ; yet, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, we cannot conceive that the government could have acted

otherwise. It was a re-action in the country that brought about the restoration of the monarchy and the re-establishment of the Church: nor is it to be supposed, that this re-action would not produce a considerable feeling of opposition against the party that had been instrumental in overturning the national establishment. In the estimation of that House of Commons by whom the act was passed, there was a necessity for strong and decided measures for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of those sad scenes which had so recently been witnessed. After all that has been said in condemnation of the act, and we justify it not, except on the ground of necessity arising from the peculiar circumstances of the period, it was merciful in comparison of the proceedings of the Presbyterians and others during the precedent twenty years. We regret the manner in which Mr. Short has spoken of this act. "The manner," he says, "in which the ejections took place in 1662, must be designated as cruel."—vol. ii. p. 268. He thinks that a more moderate line of policy would have been desirable. We must not, however, judge of the act and its framers by the principles of our own age. A measure, that in the present day would be deemed cruel, may not have deserved such an appellation then; and it is evident that such a plan as that recommended by Mr. Short would have been at that time quite impracticable. That Dissenters should denounce the act, is perfectly natural: but we think that Mr. Orme's censure is extravagant, even for a Dissenter. "The hardest, the most unjust, the most oppressive measure that could be adopted was the rigorous enforcement of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, with all their concomitants, on pious and conscientious men. For this, whoever was the party chiefly concerned in it, no apology can be found. It was an unnecessary and a cruel act of despotism."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. i. p. 221. We do not concur in opinion with those churchmen, who think that the Act of Uniformity was incapable of defence; or that it was an act over which it is desirable to draw a veil. Our opinion is, that the more fully the measure is canvassed, if the peculiar circumstances of the times are permitted to have due weight with those who wish to form a conclusion respecting it, the greater will appear the necessity for its enactment. At all events, the members of the English Church can look back upon the proceedings of that period with much greater satisfaction than can be experienced by Dissenters in reviewing the history of the preceding years, during which Episcopacy was suppressed, and the clergy treated with scorn and indignity.

We have ever thought that there was an inconsistency on the part of those ministers who suffered ejection in 1662, in relin-

quishing their posts in preference to conformity. These men had represented toleration as the worst of evils: and they had resolutely refused to grant liberty to others during their own ascendancy: after, therefore, such denunciations against liberty of conscience, it would have been more consistent in them to have complied with the requisitions of the act, which, however it might interfere with their own views, was not, according to their own reasonings, so great an evil as schism. The act is now usually stigmatized by Dissenters as the Black Act: but that its hue was as dark as that of some of the parliamentary ordinances, and the votes of the Westminster Assembly, cannot be proved. We have no wish to justify the proceedings of those times; but when Dissenters are so clamorous in their outcries against the Church of England, as if she alone at that period had adopted principles repudiated by all other parties, it becomes necessary to divest the matter of those obscurities which the lapse of time and the prejudices of party have thrown around it. It is the custom with some writers to speak of the Church of England as guilty of ejecting her own ministers in consequence of their refusal to submit to her unrighteous impositions. We regret that Mr. Wilberforce, in alluding to the ejected ministers, should have so expressed himself, as to give at least the appearance of support to such a mistaken view. "I must beg," says he, speaking of Baxter, "to class among the highest ornaments of the Church of England this great man, who, with his brethren, was so shamefully ejected from the Church in 1662, in violation of the royal word, as well as of the clear principles of justice." Now we remark, in the first place, that the ejected ministers could scarcely be deemed members of the Church of England, when they refused to submit to her discipline, or to adopt her formularies; the utmost that can be said of them is, that they occupied the livings which belonged of right to the Church: nor can we, in the second place, allow that Baxter and his brethren were the highest ornaments of the Church; on the contrary, we believe that the conforming clergy were equal in piety and superior in learning to those who were ejected. The question at that time agitated was, whether the Church or the Non-conformists should yield. Mr. Orme proceeds a step further, and tells us, "that the Church of England was unworthy of the men whom she cast out."—*Owen's Life*, p. 292. He also speaks of these men as "two thousand of the most excellent ministers of the Church of England," who, as he again observes, were cast out "because they could not submit to the exercise of an unrighteous authority."—*Baxter*, vol. i. p. 286—303. From Mr. Orme such assertions were to be expected; but we are sorry that Mr. Wilberforce should have adopted a similar tone in his remarks; we are

however sure that, had he considered the subject more fully, he would not have ventured to lend the support of his authority to such an erroneous opinion.

The question relative to the sufferings and the numbers of the sufferers of the two parties, is one that has been fiercely agitated. As soon as the advocates of Non-conformity began to register the sufferings of the ministers ejected, under the operation of the Act of Uniformity, they asserted that the case was without a parallel in the history of the Church, either in ancient or modern times. In consequence of this conduct on their part, the friends of the Church were compelled to come forward with a statement of the sufferings of the sequestered clergy, under the ascendancy of Presbyterianism. Walker's work is well known, and it was called forth by the boast of Calamy, that such a noble army of sufferers for conscience sake had never been seen, as that of the ejected ministers. The number of those who were removed, under the operation of the act of 1662, is usually stated in round numbers at two thousand; but it is remarkable, that while the Dissenters labour to increase the number of the ejected ministers, they are equally anxious to diminish that of the sequestered clergy. The statements of Dissenters on this question have been repeated over and over again, in volumes, pamphlets, and even catechisms, so that they are received without doubt or hesitation. Even Mr. Short is doubtful whether the number of the sequestered episcopal clergy has not been exaggerated by Gauden and Walker. "The want of any abstract of the proceedings of these committees, has rendered the task of estimating the numbers of those who were ejected exceedingly difficult; but the attempt has been made by Gauden, who states it as his opinion, that between six and seven thousand clergymen were ejected. Walker's calculation goes higher, but these computations are probably much beyond the truth."—*Short*, vol. ii. p. 167. We know not why, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the computations alluded to should be doubted by Mr. Short. Both Gauden and Walker furnish us with certain *data* for ascertaining pretty exactly what the numbers were; and when it is remembered that the long space of twenty years was occupied in the work of sequestration, we cannot but admit that the number must have been great.

It is curious to find Mr. Orme claiming a relationship between the Dissenters of the present day and the Non-conformists: "The Puritans under the Tudors became Non-conformists under the Stuarts, and Dissenters under the family of Hanover. They have been men of the same principles substantially throughout."—*Baxter's Life*, vol. ii. p. 255. In what the affinity consists, we cannot conceive. As far as matters of discipline are concerned, there is not one single point in which the Dissenters agree with

the Nonconformists—nay, Mr. Orme himself confesses as much a few pages farther on. “The vast majority of these persons did not decidedly object to a modified Episcopacy—to a liturgical form of worship, and to the use of various rites, provided they were not absolutely imposed on their consciences as matters of faith and scriptural practice. They were mostly believers in the lawfulness of a civil establishment of Christianity, and consequently were not Dissenters from the Church; they only objected to certain things belonging to or imposed by it.”—*Baxter*, vol. ii. p. 260. This quotation contradicts the former. According to Mr. Orme’s own showing, the Non-conformists differed less from the Established Church than from the Dissenters of modern times. How then can the Dissenters and the Non-conformists be viewed as “substantially men of the same principles?” Is there one point enumerated in the above quotation on which Dissenters would agree with the Non-conformists! In truth, the controversy is completely changed, and Dissenters now object to the very principle of an Established Church, proving thereby that their claim to a relationship with the ejected ministers is null and void. Every argument, therefore, adduced by Dissenters against an Established Church, is an argument against the Non-conformists, with whom they claim an affinity. By their practices the Dissenters not only stand convicted of a departure from the principles of the Non-conformists, but also from those of all Protestant churches throughout the world, by all of whom the lawfulness and even necessity of an Established Church are strenuously maintained. They form a class of themselves, having few things in common with the great majority of Protestants.

Various attempts were set on foot towards a comprehension of the Non-conformists within the pale of the Church, during the reigns of Charles and James, and at the revolution. The Dissenters do not desire a comprehension: their wish is to place the Church on the same level with themselves. This fact furnishes us with another evidence of the disagreement between the two parties.

It has pleased Mr. Orme, in the fulness of his self-sufficiency, to attack the memories of two of the greatest ornaments of our Church, and we shall employ the remaining pages of this article, already extended to too great a length, in rescuing their characters from unfounded calumny and misrepresentation. The individuals to whom we refer are the judicious Hooker and the learned Stillingfleet; both are attacked in the most unmeasured terms: their motives are impugned, and the most sinister views are imputed to them. To begin with his attack on Hooker:—“Had Hooker’s Polity been written in defence of the Popish

hierarchy, it would have required little alteration." The writer, however, does not attempt to refute Hooker's views; he is content with the above assertion, knowing that it would be received as truth by the great mass of those for whom his work was intended. We need not, however, occupy any further space in defence of Hooker, as Mr. Orme has not brought forward any specific charge.

We proceed to notice his attack on Stillingfleet. Shortly before the Restoration, Stillingfleet published his "*Irenicum, or a Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*," in which he recommends moderation to all parties. At this time no settlement had been effected in the Church, and it was the object of Stillingfleet to show that the matters in dispute between the two parties were indifferent, and that each might yield in some points without any sacrifice of principle. In the year 1680, Stillingfleet published a sermon on the "*Mischiefs of Separation*," in which he charges the Non-conformists with departing from the Church on account of trifles, and then points out the evils likely to result from such divisions among Protestants. This sermon was violently attacked by the Non-conformists, who charged the author with a departure from the principles of his earlier years, as expressed in his "*Irenicum*." Soon after the attacks upon the Sermon, the subject was again taken up by the author in a larger work, entitled "*The Unreasonableness of Separation*." In this work Stillingfleet enters very fully into the whole argument: the book was widely circulated, and made a considerable impression on the public mind. The first edition was published in 1681, and during the next year a third made its appearance.

Ever since the publication of "*The Unreasonableness of Separation*," the memory of Stillingfleet has been assailed with abuse. He is charged with inconsistency by contradicting in this last work the sentiments contained in the *Irenicum*. Mr. Orme, as usual, attacks him with the same weapons. Fortunately, however, the reputation of Stillingfleet rests on too solid a foundation to be shaken by such assailants: he was remarkable for the moderation of his views at a period when moderation was a rare virtue, as well as distinguished for amenity of manner towards his opponents: yet the heaviest charges are alleged against him, as if he had been false, proud, and ambitious. It appears to have been the wish of Stillingfleet's traducers to blacken his character as much as possible by groundless charges, instead of attempting to refute his arguments, which were unanswerable. In allusion to the Sermon on the "*Mischief of Separation*," Mr. Orme remarks, "He was no longer Rector of Sutton, but the Dean of St. Paul's, and had now laid aside his '*Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*' to

employ another weapon to irritate and increase them.”—*Baxter*, vol. ii. 271. Again, speaking of the “Unreasonableness of Separation:” “The Rector of Sutton, who wrote the ‘*Irenicum*’ when the Church was but a sect among other sects, was a very different person from the Dean of St. Paul’s, exposing the Unreasonableness of Separation from an Apostolic Church in all its glory. The one publication breathes a spirit of moderation, and uses the language of intreaty: the other is stern, severe, and uncompromising.”—*Ibid.* 275. These passages were written in 1830, when the Life of Baxter was published; in 1820, when the first edition of the Life of Owen appeared, Mr. Orme expresses himself with much greater moderation. “He shows,” says Mr. Orme, speaking of the “Unreasonableness of Separation,” “successfully, that many of the Puritans employed the same arguments against the Brownists which the Churchmen now urged against themselves. It cannot be denied, that on the principle of many of his adversaries, the Dean had the better of the argument.”—*Owen’s Life*, 418. Surely Mr. Orme must have forgotten this passage when he penned the above extracts from the Life of Baxter; or else that retrograde movement, which has effected so much during the last few years among the Dissenters, in converting them from quiet and peaceable religionists into noisy and angry destructives, must have been most signally displayed in the case of Mr. Orme. We, however, have nothing to do with reconciling Mr. Orme in 1820, when the last extract was written, with Mr. Orme in 1830, when the Life of Baxter was published. Our business is to defend the memory of Stillingfleet from such insidious and slanderous attacks.

The “*Irenicum*” was published in 1659, when Presbytery, if any mode of government could at that time be entitled to such a designation, was the Established Religion. There was, however, a prospect of a restoration of the ancient monarchy; and with the Restoration the question of Church Government would naturally be connected. During the preceding years of strife and contention, there had sprung up a race of divines, whose distinguished characteristics were those of moderation in their own views, and forbearance towards those from whom they might differ: and of these divines, Stillingfleet was one of the most illustrious. In this work he endeavours to show, among other things, that Episcopacy was not an antichristian mode of government, as the Presbyterians and Independents had asserted; and that his intentions were of the purest kind, there can be no possible question. In the dedication to an ordination sermon in 1684, he remarks, in reference to the “*Irenicum*,” that he published it, “hoping by it to bring over those to a compliance with the Church of England



(then like to be re-established) who stood off upon the supposition that Christ had appointed a Presbyterian government to be always continued in his Church, and therefore thought prelacy was to be detested as an unlawful usurpation." The book, it must never be forgotten, was written at a period of peculiar religious excitement, and when too no one mode of ecclesiastical government was generally practised; it was intended to unite and not to divide parties: nor could the author have contemplated the fact that this very book would afterwards furnish his enemies with weapons of attack against himself. It doubtless contained some views to which in his more mature years his judgment could not consent; but where is the man whose opinions do not undergo very material changes in the course of time on important subjects: and is a man to be exposed to the charge of inconsistency for such a change of views? In Stillingfleet's case, however, such a palliation is scarcely needed; for while it is admitted that on some points his views did undergo a change, it cannot be denied that the main arguments of his book were those which he maintained and defended during his whole life. Speaking of the work, Stillingfleet himself observes, "There are some things which show his youth and want of due consideration; others in which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the dissenting parties to the Church of England. But I dare challenge any man to produce one passage in the whole book that tendeth to encourage faction or schism or opposition to the Church of England; but, on the contrary, I endeavoured to recommend the Episcopal government, as having the advantage of all others, and coming nearest to Apostolical practice." In short, a perusal of the work will prove that the main principles of the book are agreeable to the views that had ever been entertained by the most faithful sons of the Anglican Church.

When the obnoxious Sermon on the "Mischief of Separation," and the larger and still more obnoxious work on "The Unreasonableness of Separation," were published, his enemies, unable to meet him on the fair and open ground of polemical discussion, resorted to the method of attack to which we have already alluded, and sought to convict him of the crime of apostasy from his former principles, as developed in the "*Irenicum*." The same method of attack is, as has been stated, resorted to, with all possible rancour, by Mr. Orme, who, as has been usual with Stillingfleet's traducers, contents himself with assertions, without attempting even the shadow of a proof. Let however the *Irenicum* be compared with "The Unreasonableness of Separation," and no disagreement will be found to exist: on the contrary, it will appear, on an impartial examination, that the

principles of the latter work flow from those which are laid down in the former. In the "Irenicum" he contends that the Church may lawfully decide on such matters as rites and ceremonies: it follows from such a principle that the voice of the Church should be regarded by the people for the general good, and that strife and division should be avoided by a willing obedience being rendered to the ecclesiastical authority. Such is the principle of the "Irenicum." When, therefore, the state of the Church was settled by due course of law, Stillingfleet charged the Dissenters with schism for wishing to disturb the peace of the Church about matters which, even according to their own confession, were not sinful. Could he, on the principles of the "Irenicum," have hesitated to pronounce the condemnation of separation? Fortunately the memory of Stillingfleet is not likely to suffer from the attacks of such assailants: but it excites our indignation to find men in the present day renewing the oft-repeated charge of inconsistency against a man, who, in all the essentials of sound learning and truly Christian practice, soars to a pinnacle which his traducers can never hope to reach.

We now take our leave of Mr. Orme's volumes. They have been some time before the public, and were it not for the reputation in which they are still held among the great mass of Dissenters, by whom they are viewed as impartial histories of the period, and a faithful exposition of their sentiments, we should not have deemed them deserving of our notice. In the estimation of many persons, Dissent, in consequence of its supposed affinity to the principles of the Non-conformists, is invested with a sort of sacredness, to which it has no pretensions whatever. It is the tendency of Mr. Orme's volumes to foster this notion, the fallacy of which we have, as we verily believe, succeeded in demonstrating. As every effort is made by Dissenters to vilify the clergy and misrepresent the principles of the English Church, while at the same time it is attempted to array Dissent in the most lovely and attractive colours, it becomes our duty to unmask the pretensions and to expose the sophistry of those writers, who, like Mr. Orme, are accustomed to substitute daring assertions and angry invectives in the place of truth and impartiality.

We have ventured to give expression to our dissent from some few of Mr. Short's statements: we entertain the hope too, that in another edition, the able author will consider our suggestions and modify those views against which our objections are levelled. We are however so fully convinced of the value of Mr. Short's work, that we are anxious to see it extensively circulated: nor do we hesitate to express our decided conviction that no other work on the subject of English Ecclesiastical History is so well suited

to the circumstances of those for whom it was principally intended by the author, namely, candidates for holy orders. The reader will discover a striking difference in the tone and spirit of Mr. Short and Mr. Orme. The work of the former is distinguished throughout for the strictest honesty and the most rigid impartiality, which appear the more conspicuous when contrasted with the dishonesty and sophistry so signally displayed in the volumes of the latter. It is quite refreshing, after rising from the task of perusing such works as those of Mr. Orme, to turn to the pages of Mr. Short, who, so far from sacrificing truth to the interest of the Church of England, has rather erred, if indeed he is chargeable with error, in allowing too much credit to the misrepresentations of her enemies.

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ART. IV.—*The Vicar of Wrexhill.* By Mrs. Trollope. 3 vols. Small 8vo. Bentley. 1837.

It has been our misfortune, on more occasions than one, to differ with those members of our communion who constitute what is popularly called the evangelical party in the Church of England. We might, even now, if we were so minded, specify several points in which, whatever good the clergy and laity attached to that party may have done by stimulating and keeping alive a general spirit of piety, they have pursued neither a wise nor regular course, nor one tending to the peace, and steadfastness, and safety of the establishment. Their theology has oftentimes appeared to us narrow and exclusive, forgetful of the great and cardinal truth, that “*all Scripture is profitable* ;” and therefore of necessity, exaggerated and overdrawn in the things which it stated, because deprived of the counterbalancing power of the things which it omitted. Their modes of agency have oftentimes appeared to us injurious, as calculated to produce disunion and weakness; more particularly, those close leagues which have sometimes occurred, of alliance defensive and even offensive with Dissenters, in opposition to their brethren within the pale of the Church. Their views as to Church discipline, and Church authority, have oftentimes appeared to us to be loose and defective; and their views as to general politics, to be tinctured with extravagance and violence. Let it be added, that they have oftentimes appeared to us to exercise over the mind of our female population an influence neither the most judicious nor the most salutary.

We state these opinions, as we have stated them before, with perfect frankness; for we believe the case to be one in which the candid and temperate exposition of sentiment is more useful in itself and more likely to bring about harmony in the end,

than their over-cautious suppression. But, in any controversy into which we have felt ourselves compelled to enter, we trust that we have exhibited a spirit of courtesy and kindness; except, perhaps, on some few occasions, when the outrageousness of attack rendered forbearance impossible, and really called for a spirited and almost indignant defence. Nor even on these occasions, we trust, have we been betrayed by the bitter folly of individuals into general aspersions upon the body. We have uniformly *distinguished*; we have uniformly and most cheerfully acknowledged, that there exist in the evangelical section of the Church of England many, very many men, who would do honour to any religious community upon the face of the earth; men, whose general conduct all might be proud to imitate, and whose Christian spirit all might be happy to imbibe: and between these men and their (so-called) orthodox brethren, there remain, we are verily persuaded, few, if any, matters which are not fairly capable of accommodation and adjustment.

Still, as long as any differences continue, our attitude, we are aware, must be sometimes one of apparent hostility; because our side is taken, and we cannot be on both. None, however, we trust, except perhaps Mrs. Trollope herself, will imagine that, on this account or on any other, such a production as "*The Vicar of Wrexhill*" could find favour in our eyes. Our remarks, we trust, have never had any thing in common with a work, written, we are compelled to think, neither conscientiously nor charitably; neither with Christian kindness, nor with justice to others, nor even, it may be, with good faith, as far as the author's own convictions are concerned.

Mrs. Trollope is a bold writer. She began with attacking the Americans, *genus irritabile*, a generation the most sore and sensitive upon earth, and quite disposed to retaliate, if any lady or gentleman should go over and take an unfavourable likeness of them, without even asking them to sit for the picture. She now attacks the "*Evangelicals*," a body influential and united, and altogether competent, if so inclined, to make vilifiers and calumniators feel the weight of their resentment. What a pity it is, with so much boldness, that, in the better part of valour, Mrs. Trollope is so utterly deficient. She has about as much of discretion, as Christmas-day has of sun at the north pole.

Ladies, we must say, when they wish to make a particular impression upon the public mind, are sadly given to exaggeration. Mrs. Sherwood lately indulged us with a delineation of a High Churchman,—a task which she achieved by mixing up the most hideous hues almost at random, splashing and daubing away, as if an innkeeper had requested that, for a proper consideration, she

would paint him *a Saracen's head*. Mrs. Trollope now affords us a companion picture, which fairly out-Herods, or out-Sherwoods, Mrs. Sherwood.

We had heard that this tale was a performance of some interest, turning upon religious peculiarities. We therefore read it—albeit not much in the habit of perusing this class of works—in the hope that we might gather some accurate information, or some useful admonition, conveyed in the form of a narrative. Let us be quite candid. We might have deemed it—for persons who could like the employment—an occupation of their time, not altogether unserviceable, to *show up*, in a moderate and discriminating way, an officious and meddling parson, *leading captive silly women*; sowing schism, disunion, and discomfort in a parish or a family; striving to bring into contempt the more quiet and unostentatious ministrations of his predecessor; courting popularity and authority by plausible artifices; and endeavouring to become the absolute pope, the spiritual and temporal dictator, of a neighbourhood. Yet we ought not here to have expected any thing like moderation or discrimination, with the recollection of Mrs. Trollope's former volumes in our minds. This publication, at least, has completely undeceived us. What respect can we have for a writer, who is a mere caricaturist, and whose caricatures always lean to the side of the bitterest ill-nature? What respect can we have for a writer, who dips her pen in the blackest venom of calumny for the sake of catching a few readers the more? This work, we fear, like the old razors, is made merely *to sell*. Mrs. Trollope does not warn, but she misrepresents: she does not unmask, but she libels. Yet we would fain hope, though almost against hope, that she has *meant well*: that from an unfortunate habit, or from some mental fault, or obliquity of intellect, she actually sees all things through an exaggerating and distorting medium; that there is some strange malformation in the *retina* of her imagination or her judgment; and that she imposes upon herself before she attempts to impose upon others. However, that she has *done ill*, we have no question. Whether, amidst much mischief, some little *modicum* of collateral or incidental benefit may, or may not, result even from this production, we shall not inquire: but we are sure that the slight infusions of probability or reality, which may occasionally be traced in it, do not make the misrepresentations less odious.

Yet, we understand, its circulation has been considerable. And this circumstance, in addition to other reasons, the chief of which is a strong disinclination to wade again through the mire of its contents, dissuades us from undertaking any regular analysis. Suffice it to say, that it is a novel in three volumes, garnished with

illustrative engravings, one or two of which might put even Mrs. Trollope herself to the blush.

It would almost appear that Mrs. Trollope had a map or catalogue of human vices before her, and, lest she should be accused of partiality in her selection, had determined not to omit one in her description of an evangelical clergyman. So, when the greater and more atrocious crimes have taken their station, the smaller and meaner are admitted to a place. Lest it should not be enough to make the Vicar of Wrexhill a wholesale scoundrel, he must also be represented as a petty rogue. Lest it should not be enough to make him harsh, tyrannical, and overbearing, he must also be represented as supple, oily, insinuating, and cowardly. Lest ambition and the lust of power should be thought to monopolize a heart capacious of all evil, room must likewise be found for the love of sloth and indolence, the love of "*creature-comforts*," the love of eating and drinking—the good dinner—the luxurious arm-chair,—and the two or three glasses of negus on the sofa of the dressing-room before going to bed. Contraries are to meet; and opposites to mingle; and, if a quality is but base, Mrs. Trollope's hero is by no means to be defrauded of its possession.

For ourselves, we are happy to say, that we never met with such a miscreant, or any the slightest approach to such a miscreant, as this Mr. Cartwright, in the religious world. But if we conceive, just for the sake of argument, that one such being could be discovered, still the description could answer no salutary purpose; since it would afford no example, no moral lesson to the generality; because it would only represent the single monster of his kind. There may be, we altogether believe, a high moral utility in works of fiction. But ethical fiction, in order to be useful—to serve some higher end than the gratification of curiosity, or the excitement of wonder—to advance the sacred cause of truth and virtue, must present, not a *lusus naturæ*,—for such things ought to be relegated to some medical, or physiological, or metaphysical history, which treats of aberrations and prodigies,—but a fair specimen of humanity in one or other of its aspects: it must present to us, not a solitary individual, but the personification of a class; it must present to us passions and events, such as may be frequently called forth on the open theatre of life, and actions such as similar circumstances are always likely to reproduce. Otherwise, we derive no instruction, we receive no warning; for we are reading of things in which we feel that we have no concern.

Wherefore, in sitting down to the perusal of any novel or tale, either we fancy that we discern a particular account of some one

living person under a fictitious name, in which case literature degenerates into mere satire and scandal; or else, seeing the futility of a merely individual picture, we *generalize* the characters as a matter of course, and almost as a matter of necessity. And hence comes the unfairness of giving a single portrait, a single *biography*, when it is sure to be enlarged by the mind of the reader into a general history. But, in point of fact, Mrs. Trollope herself generalizes in every chapter of her three volumes. She evidently means to depict, not an individual, but a *genus*. Mr. Cartwright is evidently intended to be, not one isolated evangelical vicar, but a representation of the class of evangelical vicars. Miss Fanny is evidently intended as a representation of the class of evangelical young ladies, who slide by insensible degrees through the pious into the amatory; and sing hymns where the devotional is a plagiarism from the erotic; and fall in love with the too interesting parson, who debars them from other emotions than those which his own mingled tenderness and spirituality can gently but deeply stir. So we have also, as representatives in their way, the evangelical widow in a country town, the evangelical attorney, the evangelical apothecary, the evangelical curate, the evangelical missionary, the evangelical assemblage at the *fancy fair*, the evangelical butler, down to the evangelical stable-boy. And in all these characters, throughout all their sayings and doings, there is scarcely one redeeming point amidst the mass of rascality and turpitude: with the exception of the feebler persons, who are themselves deceived and betrayed, there is not one touch of charity or honesty, of sincerity or kindness of heart. The whole, from beginning to end, is one sickening scene of ostentation pretending to be piety, of imposture triumphing over credulity, and craft taking advantage of enthusiasm, and villany fattening upon folly.

The grand *rôle*, however, is played by the Vicar of Wrexhill himself. And here we must descend a little into particulars, in order to convey at all a correct idea of this precious production, which Mrs. Trollope, in accordance with her notions, ought to have called "*the school for Evangelicalism*." Mr. Cartwright is introduced to the vicarage through the influence of a powerful patron, in opposition to the superior claims of the son of the late incumbent. This late incumbent, together with his whole mode of preaching and proceeding, the successor immediately begins to disparage and decry, setting up the bright radiance of his own spiritual illumination in contrast with the previous darkness of formality and legality. Of course, therefore, he fills the unhappy place, in the first instance, with discord and division, and then with spiritual pride and rancour, and an arrogant dissatisfaction

with the old ways of the Church. Smooth, bland, and affable, with a handsome countenance, fine teeth, an expressive smile, a soft voice, and a gracious demeanour, the polished hypocrite yet comes into the village, almost like a wild beast intent on rapine, insidious as a serpent, and merciless as a tiger. At this period, however, he is embarrassed by debts and difficulties; and one of his great objects is to retrieve his affairs by preying on the superstitious and susceptible. For this purpose, among others, he strains every nerve to obtain a complete mastery over the female population of Wrexhill, till he gradually impregnates its entire atmosphere with seduction and pollution. His conversation with the ladies consists of dangerous compliments and illicit proposals, couched sometimes in scriptural phraseology, and always in a kind of religious cant. On the rest of the inhabitants, he fawns or tramples, as circumstances admit; and when he deems the sway to be in his own hands, his language is as coarse, brutal, and blasphemous, as his measures are savage, domineering, and oppressive.

But his main object of all is to gain possession of the person and fortune of the rich widow of the squire and landholder of the parish. By a series of abominable devices, he sets her against her children, and half wheedles, half terrifies her into a hasty marriage; next, though in this respect he is afterwards baffled and out-manœuvred through the instrumentality of some subordinate characters, whom the purport of this criticism does not lead us to mention, he causes her to make a will bequeathing her whole property to himself; and then has no scruple in hastening her death by his ill-treatment. Moreover, while the mother, since the money is hers, demands his serious courtship, it is requisite that he should keep himself in practice by inveigling the affections of the daughter—a young, impressible, and religiously romantic girl—through a mixture of fraud and flattery too loathsome to be detailed.

We may add, with regard to his own family, that he is just as exemplary in his parental as in his other relations. His own daughter, who sees through his baseness, and whom his tyranny eventually kills, he horrifies into becoming a confirmed Atheist; while his son, who is of another temperament, is so shamed by his father's conduct out of all serious feelings, that, having been throughout a buffoon and a reprobate, he ends, characteristically enough, by being a strolling player.

But why should we go on? Yet it is bare justice, since our remarks have been severe, to give a few elucidatory quotations. But we should have to transcribe almost the whole work, if we attempted to verify from these three volumes our account of the



hero; or to show how Mrs. Trollope has made him a complete compound of all vices, aspiring and yet sordid, rapacious and yet cunning; his every action the concentrated essence of malice and deceit, his every word softened into the jargon of false piety; his unctuous and treacled discourse framed to entrap and destroy, somewhat like the sticky and cloying mixture placed against a garden wall to catch wasps;—his general conduct the fit counterpart to this talk, smooth as honey, though more bitter than gall, but sometimes breaking out with unrestrained and scurrilous audacity:—a liar, a calumniator, a cringing hypocrite, an insolent bully, a creeping and perjured knave, a licentious sensualist, an impure voluptuary, a self-indulgent epicure: steeped to the very core in impurity and bitterness and worldliness, yet for ever preaching and praying, as if he were already among the elect of heaven, and all the pollutions of earth were cleansed away from his spirit.

Thus, after about five interviews with Mrs. Mowbray, the unfortunate lady against whom Mr. Cartwright entertains his nefarious designs of marriage, the following scene occurs when she is irritated for the moment against Sir Gilbert Harrington, an old friend of the family, and joint executor with herself.

"Mrs. Mowbray wept.—Mr. Cartwright hid his face with his hands, and for some moments seemed fearful of betraying all he felt. At length he fixed his eyes upon her—eyes moistened by a tear, and in a low deep voice that seemed to indicate an inward struggle, he uttered, '*vengeance is mine, saith the Lord!*'"

"He closed his eyes, and sat for a moment silent, then added, 'Perhaps of all the trials to which we are exposed in this world of temptation, the obeying this mandate is the most difficult! But like all uttered by its divine author, it is blessed alike by its authority and its use. Without it, my friend, without it, would not my hand be grappling the throat of your malignant enemy? Without it, should I not even now be seeking to violate the laws of God and man, to bring the wretch who can thus stab an angel woman's breast to the dust before her? But, thanks to the faith that is in me, I *know* that his suspicious heart and cruel soul shall meet a vengeance as much greater than any I could inflict, as the hand that wields it is more powerful than mine! I humbly thank my God for this, and remembering it, turn with chastened spirit from the forbidden task of punishing him, to the far more Christian one of offering aid to the gentle being he would crush. Was it indeed from the lips of your child, my poor friend, that these base aspersions reached you?'"  
—vol. i. pp. 169, 170.

Our next extract must be an interview with Miss Fanny, to whom the reverend Vicar is rather fond of paying clandestine visits at every convenient opportunity.

"Fanny was already in the garden when he arrived; and as it so hap-

pened that he saw her as she was hovering near the shrubbery gate, he turned from the carriage-road and approached her.

“‘How sweetly does youth, when blessed with such a cheek and eye as yours, Miss Fanny, accord with the fresh morning of such a day as this. I feel,’ he added, taking her hand and looking in her blushing face, ‘that my soul never offers adoration more worthy of my Maker than when inspired by intercourse with such a being as you!’

“‘Oh, Mr. Cartwright,’ cried Fanny, avoiding his glance by fixing her beautiful eyes upon the ground.

“‘My dearest child, fear not to look at me—fear not to meet the eye of a friend who would watch over you, Fanny, as the minister of God should watch over that which is best and fairest, to make and keep it holy to the Lord. Let me have that innocent heart in my keeping, my dearest child, and all that is idle, light, and vain, shall be banished thence, while heavenward thoughts and holy musings shall take its place. Have you essayed to hymn the praises of your Saviour and your God, Fanny, since we parted yesterday?’

“This question was accompanied by an encouraging pat upon her glowing cheek; and Fanny, her heart beating with vanity, shyness, hope, fear, and sundry other feelings, drew the MS. containing a fairly written transcript of her yesterday’s labours from her bosom, and placed it in his hand.

“Mr. Cartwright pressed it with a sort of pious fervour to his lips, and enclosing it for greater security in a letter which he drew from his pocket, he laid it carefully within his waistcoat, on the left side of his person, and as near as possible to that part of it appropriated for the residence of the heart.”—vol. i. p. 195, 6, 7.

Mr. Cartwright’s letter, at vol. i. p. 200—205, to “his cousin and friend, Mr. Stephen Corbold, solicitor,” is a rich specimen in its way; but we must pass on to the place where, as Mrs. Mowbray is about to undertake a journey to London, the vicar “whispers, as he handed her in and pressed her hand,”

“‘Do not fatigue yourself with talking, my dear friend, it is a great while since you have taken a journey even so long as this. In the pocket next you I have placed a little volume that I wish—oh, how ardently—that you would read with attention. Will you promise me this?’

“‘I will,’ replied Mrs. Mowbray, deeply affected by his earnestness. ‘God bless you!’

“‘The Lord watch over you,’ responded Mr. Cartwright, with a sigh. He then retreated a step, and Helen sprang hastily into the carriage without assistance; the door was closed, and before the equipage reached the lodges, Mrs. Mowbray had plunged into a disquisition on regeneration and faith—the glory of the new birth—and the assured damnation of all who cannot, or do not, attain thereto.”—vol. i. p. 232—233.

To this extract, the following conversation may be fitly appended.

“‘At what age, Mr. Cartwright,’ said Mrs. Simpson, ‘do you think

one should begin to instil the doctrine of regeneration into a little girl?'

"'Not later than ten, my dear lady. A very quick and forward child might perhaps be led to comprehend it earlier. Eight and three quarters I have known in a state of the most perfect awakening; but this I hold to be rare.'"—vol. i. p. 307.

When the ladies sing sacred music of an evening, the following is a specimen of the *regenerated* hymns, which Mr. Cartwright recommends to his young proselytes,—

"Fly not yet! 'Tis just the hour  
When prayerful Christians own the power  
That, inly beaming with new light,  
Begins to sanctify the night  
For maids who love the moon.

Oh, pray!—oh, pray!

"'Tis but to bless these hours of shade  
That pious songs and hymns are made;  
For now, their holy ardour glowing,  
Sets the soul's emotion flowing.

Oh, pray!—oh, pray!

"Prayer so seldom breathes a strain  
So sweet as this, that, oh! 'tis pain  
To check its voice too soon.

Oh, pray!—oh, pray!"—vol. i. p. 316—7.

This delectable parody is sung in the drawing-room. But the staple commodity of this part of the book may be said to be lonely walks by moonlight, and secret comings and goings, in which pastoral visits are turned into amorous assignations. Some of these are enough to make us sigh for the time, as depicted by those in every way monkish lines, when

"Causa gravis scelerum cessabit amor mulierum,  
Colloquium quarum nihil est nisi virus amarum,  
Præbens, sub mellis dulcedine, pocula fellis."

Yet we must bear in mind, that the Evangelical Vicar of Wrexhill is represented not merely as a *Dr. Cantwell*, but still more as a spiritual Falstaff, whose aim is to make a property of the ladies whom he courts, while he is debauching their principles and ensnaring their affections. His daughter thus describes him to her friend,—

"'To touch, to influence, to lead, to rule, to tyrannize over the hearts and souls of all he approaches, is the great object of his life. He would willingly do this in the hearts of men, but for the most part he has found them tough; and he now, I think, seems to rest all his hopes of fame, wealth, and station, on the power he can obtain over women. I

say not,' she added, after a pause, while a slight blush passed over her cheek, 'that I believe his senses uninfluenced by beauty—this is far, hatefully far, from being the case with Mr. Cartwright; but he is careful, most cunningly careful, whatever victims he make, never to become one in his own person.

"‘You would find, were you to watch him, that his system, both for pleasure and profit, consists of a certain graduated love-making to every woman within his reach—not too poor, too old, or too ugly. But if any among them fancy that he would sacrifice the thousandth part of a hair's breadth of his worldly hopes for all they could give him in return, they are mistaken.’"—vol. i. pp. 286, 287.

To this "*love making*," however, even prayer is made subservient. Thus, in an extempore address to Heaven, equally conspicuous for its piety and its honesty, or, as we are told, "*perfectly indecent and profane in its impassioned language*," the Vicar drives Miss Fanny almost into convulsions, until the door opens, and he is suddenly interrupted. Still he is too skilful in deceit, too practised in intrigue, to be deserted by his presence of mind.

"He did not for an instant suspend the flow of his eloquence, but the style of it altered altogether.

"‘Bless her, Lord! bless this lovely and beloved one!’ were the words which preceded the opening of the door, accompanied by the sobbings of vehement emotion. ‘Bless all this worthy family, and all sorts and conditions of men; and so lead them home, &c.’ were those which followed, uttered too with very decent sobriety and discretion.”—vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

Charming man—exemplary Vicar! We had marked many other passages for citation in the first volume, but we must hurry forward to, and through, the others; for it really is not safe to dwell, in detail, on the progress of this amiable personage.

In the second volume, Mrs. Trollope discovers more plainly the target at which she aims; and shows that she is striking at a party under pretence of describing an individual. She tells us of Mr. Cartwright, at page 11, that "*there are lots of men at Cambridge, who think him quite an Apostle*;" and she makes one of her more respectable characters declare, at page 38, "Mr. Cartwright is one of the Evangelical, decidedly, I believe, the most mischievous sect that ever attacked the Established Church." And again, at pp. 39, 40, "of every family into which this insidious and anti-christian schism has crept, you would find, upon inquiry, that in nine instances out of ten, it has been the young girls who have been selected as the first objects of conversion, and then made the active means of spreading it afterwards." "Mr. Cartwright is what is called "*a shining light*," which means, being interpreted, "*a ranting, canting fanatic*." At page 57, Mr.

Cartwright himself informs Mrs. Mowbray, that he has a peculiar "skill in developing the inward character of those among whom he is thrown; and I cannot," he adds, "but believe that this faculty, which I feel so strong within me, of discerning in whom are those spirits that the Lord has chosen for his own—I cannot but believe that this faculty is given me by his especial will, and for his especial glory." At page 72, Mrs. Trollope finds a pleasure in sneering at Evangelical Societies, and "*evangelical establishments for the instruction of ignorance in infants of four months, to adults of fourscore.*" At page 86, there occurs a stoppage in the journey, in which Mr. Stephen Corbold, the Evangelical solicitor, is accompanying Mrs. Mowbray and her daughter.

"This halt was an agreeable surprise to Mr. Stephen Corbold. It was indeed an arrangement such as those of his peculiar sect are generally found to approve; for it is a remarkable fact, easily ascertained by any who will give themselves the trouble of inquiry, that the serious Christians of the present age indulge themselves bodily, whenever the power of doing so falls in their way, exactly in proportion to the mortifications and privations with which they torment their spirits: so that while a young sinner would fly from an untasted glass of claret that he might not lose the prologue to a new play, a young saint would sip up half-a-dozen (if he could get them), while descanting on the grievous pains of hell which the pursuit of pleasure must for ever bring."—vol. ii. p. 86.

Shortly after, a most instructive conversation occurs between Mr. Corbold and his cousin the vicar of Wrexhill; when "a serious, waggish, holy, cunning smile illuminated the red dry features of the attorney," and both "discern some very singular and remarkable manifestations of the Lord's will." At page 121, Mr. Cartwright, as the impersonation of Calvinism, or what Mrs. Trollope had before facetiously called "*Philo-Calvin Frybabe principles*," says of one of the young ladies, "I won't disguise from you, cousin, that I consider this young person's as a hopeless case. She was foredoomed from the beginning of the world: I see the mark upon her:" and at page 170, we are told of all other feelings being "made to merge in the one overwhelming influence of Calvinistic terror on one side, and Calvinistic pride at presumed election on the other." So again, on another occasion, "Mr. Cartwright hemmed and began—

"I thank thee, O Lord! that by thy especial calling and election, I am placed where so many sinful souls are found, who through and by me may be shown the path by which to escape the eternal pains of Hell. But let thy flames blaze and burn, O Lord! for those who neglect so great salvation! Pour down upon them visibly thy avenging judgments, and let the earth see it and be afraid," &c. &c.—vol. ii. p. 298.

At page 130, Mrs. Trollope reprobates extempore preaching as "a very indecent *innovation*:" which whatever else it may be, and our opinion is on record, it certainly is not. Charles II. was, assuredly, not an Evangelical; and yet, as Mr. Gresley informs us, in his *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*,

"The witty monarch would, I fear, come under the censure of the historian, as being a 'vulgar' hearer of sermons, if we may judge from the following proclamation, extracted from the statute book of the University of Cambridge.

"Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,

"Whereas his Majesty is informed that the practice of reading sermons is generally taken up by the preachers before the university, and therefore continues even before himself; his Majesty hath commanded me to signify to you his pleasure, that the said practice, which took its beginning from the disorders of the late times, be wholly laid aside, and that the said preachers deliver their sermons, both in Latin and English by memory, without books; as being a way of preaching which his Majesty judgeth most agreeable to the use of foreign churches, to the custom of the university heretofore, and to the nature of that holy exercise: and, that his Majesty's command in these premises be duly regarded and observed, his further pleasure is, that the names of all such ecclesiastical persons as shall continue the present supine and slothful way of preaching be, from time to time, signified to him by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, on pain of his Majesty's displeasure.

'Oct. 8th, 1674.'

'MONMOUTH.'

We ought to have mentioned, though it is hardly requisite, that, just before, our authoress had been recurring to her old constant and favourite topic. Mr. Cartwright, we are told, had been seeking to inflame the imaginations of his parishioners.

"Among the females he had been particularly successful; and indeed the proportion of the fair sex who are found to embrace the tenets which this gentleman and his sect have introduced in place of those of the Church of England, is so great, that, as their faith is an exclusive one, it might be conjectured that the chief object of the doctrine was to act as a balance-weight against that of Mahomet, who, atrocious tyrant as he was, shut the gates of heaven against all woman-kind whatsoever; were it not that an occasional nest of he-saints may here and there be found, sometimes in a drum-profaned barrack, and sometimes in a cloistered college, which show that election is not wholly confined to the fair. There are, however, some very active and inquiring persons who assert, that upon an accurate survey throughout England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, no greater number of this sect can be found of the masculine gender than may suffice to perform the duties of ministers, deputy ministers, missionaries, assistant missionaries, speech-makers both in and out of Parliament, committee-men, and such serious footmen, coachmen, butchers and

baker, as the fair inhabitants of the Calvinistic heaven require to perform the unfeminine drudgery of earth."—vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

In the third volume, at page 29, we read of the misfortunes of poor Mrs. Simpson, "whose example," says Mrs. Trollope, "should be a warning to all widow ladies to be careful how they enter into holy dalliance and sanctified trifling with the regenerated and elect:"—for, as she adds in a strain of high-toned morality, "common prudence, in short, is no fair match for uncommon holiness." The succeeding dialogue between the widow and the vicar must be read to be appreciated. The same remark may apply to the interview between Mr. Cartwright and his step-son; wherein the former says to the latter, who is anxious to go into the army,

"Open not your mouth, young man, in defence of the God-abandoned set to whom you would wish to belong: my ears must not be profaned by any words of such abhorrent tendency. Instead of speaking yourself, hear me. My will is, that you return to college, there to prepare yourself for ordination. I utter this command with a conscience void of offence; for, though your awful deficiency in religion is well known to me, I have confidence in the Lord, and in the power he will give me to work a change: and moreover, I know to what bishop I shall lead you for ordination; thereby securing to myself the consolation of knowing that no human learning will enable you to be received within the pale that we are strengthening around us, and within which none shall be admitted (if we can help it), but the regenerate and adopted, or such as we of the evangelical church may choose to pledge ourselves shall become so."—vol. iii. pp. 45, 46.

His step-son becomes an exile, and Mr. Cartwright, rejoicing exceedingly at his departure, begins to form plans on an extensive scale. For we read

"This good work achieved, which was of that species permitted by the peculiar doctrine of his sect, Mr. Cartwright, of Cartwright Park, began to look around him among his neighbours and dependents for opportunities of displaying both his sanctity and his magnificence."—p. 57.

He denounces Mr. Marsh the schoolmaster, who dares to be orthodox, and "doubts whether Satan stands ready at the door to seize his soul, and bear it in his poisoned claws to everlasting torture."

"'This is terrible!' cried the vicar, starting up and attempting to stop his ears. 'Such blasphemy cannot be listened to without sin. I leave you, sir, and I will shake the dust off this your carpet from off my feet. But remember this,—I am your pastor and master, appointed to be the minister and guide of all the souls in my parish unto the presence of the Lord. As for your soul—I have no hope left for it: it

must and it will have its portion among the condemned of the Lord and of his saints, and will exist only to burn in unspeakable tortures for ever."—vol. iii. p. 70.

This village pedagogue Mr. Cartwright soon contrives to ruin: the unhappy man himself is sent to prison; his furniture is seized for taxes: his wife lies ill of a brain-fever in a small adjoining public-house; and the children are starving around her:—which comfortable news the prosperous vicar receives "*with an inward chuckle, which was the hosannah of a fiend.*"

Previously, when the innkeeper had demurred to his command of "forthwith taking down the Mowbray arms, and substituting the *Cartwright* arms," "the imperious great man whose cold outward civility had been long struggling with internal hatred," actually began to climb a ladder for the purpose of tearing away the obnoxious sign with his own hand.

But we are sick of these revolting improbabilities. Otherwise we might proceed to a more particular notice of son Jacob; of the missionary operations, and the project of *sending out to Fabab* a remarkably serious young Jew, recently converted—the sketch or programme of the *serious fête*, with the serious company, and the serious servants, full of "reverential bows and frozen *blandishments*,"—the way in which Mr. Cartwright, "*according to the usual custom of evangelical divines*," collects gossip and scandal, is a breaker and betrayer of confidence—opens the family letter-bag, and re-seals the letters *with considerable mechanical skill*. These, and other exquisite *morceaux*, we must omit; such as meet us in this third volume at page 185, or at pages 212—215; and, still more flagrantly at pages 217, 218. We hardly know whether we are right to extract the parting speech of Mr. Cartwright's wretched daughter, Henrietta.

"Fanny stood apart, and alone; and having looked round upon each of them, the dying girl fixed her eyes upon her father, and thus addressed him:

"I have heard you say—a thousand times perhaps,—that religion was the business of your life; and for that reason, sir, its very name hath become abhorrent to my soul. Oh, father! you have much to answer for! I would have given my own right hand to believe in a good, a merciful, a forgiving God!—and I turned my young eyes to you. You told me that few could be saved, and that it was not what I deemed innocence could save me. You told me too, that I was in danger, but that you were safe. You told me that God had set his seal upon you. And then I watched you—oh, how earnestly: I spied out all your ways!—I found fraud, pride, impurity, and falsehood mix with your deeds through every day you lived! Yet still you said that God had set his seal upon you—that your immortal soul was safe,—that happiness eternal was your predestined doom. I listened to you as a child listens to a father;



not a word was lost ; no, nor an action either. And then it was, father, that I became an unbeliever ! an hardened infidel ! a daring atheist ! If it were true that God had chosen you, then was it true my soul rejected him."—vol. iii. p. 282, 283.

This is enough to make us pause:—we shall not trust ourselves to speak of the horrors of the catastrophe ;—where, however, the Vicar of Wrexhill, though exposed and foiled in his immediate villanies, effects an exchange, "*by the influence of some of the most distinguished of his party, both in religion and politics ;*" but unfortunately does "*not obtain a mitre, though a great many serious people declared that he deserved it.*"

We find, as we look back to the notes which we made in reading these veracious volumes, that we had meant for quotation several other passages ; but we cannot afford room for more extracts, and those which we have given must preclude the necessity of a larger number of specific references. The intention of the book, and the characteristic vices of the hero, as also of his congenial, though subordinate agents, must be sufficiently manifest without them.

We have all read of the lady, who

" So perfect and so peerless was created  
Of every creature's best :"

we have heard, too, of Apelles, who, in order to paint an ideal Venus, gathered round him all the living models of loveliness, and blended together the finest lineaments and proportions of the various specimens of Grecian beauty. Mrs. Trollope goes upon the reverse process. She takes all the separate features of hideousness and deformity, and combines them to make up the express image of a Calvinistic clergyman. She collects into her herbal all the poisonous plants with which her science is acquainted ; she distils all their rank juices into one terrible decoction, and then labels it, as it were, with the title of "*Evangelicalism in England.*" "*This is not and it cannot come to good.*" To show the evil lurking in some comprehensive principle, to point out the error of some general system of action, may be a task as necessary as it is disagreeable : but to enter into the details of private life and personal character, for the mere sake of aggravating all that is worst and most hateful, is a work of superfluous unpleasantness, from which Christian prudence, no less than Christian charity, would gladly refrain. As to such matters, God knows, it is better for us all, to lament, with a burning sense of shame, over our own vices and deficiencies, than to cast stones at one another.

Nor let Mrs. Trollope suppose that she is justified by the motto which she prefixes from Molière.

“ Les bons et vrais dévots qu'on doit suivre à la trace  
 Ne sont pas ceux aussi qui font tant de grimace.  
 Hé, quoi !—vous ne ferez nulle distinction  
 Entre l'hypocrisie et la dévotion ?  
 Vous les voulez traiter d'un semblable langage,  
 Et rendre même honneur au masque qu'au visage ?”

With her, all is written, not for truth, but for effect. Every page bears its evidences of a shrewd and inquisitive, but, at the same time, of a coarse, unfastidious, and, must we say it?—vulgar mind. Many passages are gross in the conception, and of at least very equivocal delicacy in the phraseology. But we will not say more; for there are expressions which we should be most unwilling to use in reviewing a lady's publication. We need only refer to the scene of private devotions with the Vicar on his knees; to the scene with Miss Fanny under the lime-trees; to the scenes, when the lawyer is with the same young lady in the carriage, and afterwards in the house; as also to a variety of others, which cannot, we think, be very edifying to the rising generation,—not even to any little Master Trollope or little Miss Trollope, if such happen to be in existence. Mrs. Trollope may think—and it is simply on this account that we trouble ourselves with her lucubrations—that she is advocating the cause of genuine religion, by her exposure of the religion which is spurious and counterfeit; but we would test the matter by the effect which is produced upon the mind of any youthful reader—and it is by youthful readers that novels are devoured—who rises from the perusal of these three volumes.

There is no accounting for the droll notions which people sometimes take in their heads. Mr. Galt says in his *Bogle Corbet*, ‘I have always been fond of marking my reverence for the Sabbath, by *spending the day* in some short excursion.’ Mrs. Trollope, now and then, delivers opinions as to the proper mode of displaying a sense of religion, which seem analogous to this plan of keeping the Sunday holy, by driving over to Richmond, or steaming down to Gravesend. But at such matters we can only glance, and pass forward. Neither can we stop to inquire how far her own sex will be gratified by Mrs. Trollope's description of the fair sisterhood at Wrexhill;—ladies, who, almost without an exception, figure in these pages, at once as weak in intellect as in sound principles; not disinclined, if we may borrow the elegant phrase of our authoress, to *holy dalliance*;—becoming every day, like dead game, more tender and more tainted, till really—but we find an *aposiopesis* absolutely needful, not for the august purpose of introducing a rhetorical figure, but from the sheer difficulty of finishing the sentence without offence.

For a large proportion of the imaginative literature which now

passes current and is applauded, we entertain very little respect in any point of view. We cannot admire, for instance, that morbid strain of melancholy in which lack-a-daisical young ladies deluge us with a flood of verses, that may be best described as *Byron and water*. We cannot admire that absurd style of extravagant rhodomontade, in which some young gentleman performs the most wonderful and impossible feats of strength and activity in the twinkling of an eye, as if it was said, "to leap beyond the moon, walk at seven strides along the stars of the Great Bear, and descend to earth by the Pleiades, was for our hero but the work of a single minute." Still less can we admire the novels of fashionable life, real or pretended, which, besides their general demerit of unfaithfulness and positive vulgarity, always tend to divert the mind from the common interests of universal humanity, and absorb it in the artificial frivolities of a few hundred persons who are supposed, *par excellence*, to constitute the world, as if they were formed of a different and finer clay than their fellow creatures. If we look abroad, we have small sympathy either with the old Kotzebue school of German sentimentalism, or with the schools that have succeeded it; while we can only shrink in unmitigated disgust from those outrageous horrors, equally offensive to good morals and good taste, which characterize the romantic, or more properly, the ruffian school of young France, where adultery and incest, murder and suicide, all vitiated feelings, all disordered fancies, and all unlawful appetites, are the main sources of a diseased and feverish interest, the indulgence of which is in itself almost a crime. But we really doubt whether any of these literary enormities is so deeply to be censured, as the exhibition of a minister of the Christian religion, covered over from head to foot with an entire leprosy of guilt, of which no swindler or usurer, no brigand or pirate, not even that scare-crow of our infancy, Blackbeard, with his whole gang of buccaneers, could altogether be capable; in a word, the gibbeting of a teacher of the Gospel as the incarnation of depravity, animated by that intense hatred of good, which is more than human, and properly belongs to the fiendish or the diabolical.

We again ask, *cui bono*? Many estimable persons in the Church may be grievously pained and wounded: the rest can derive no triumph, or, if they can, it must be a triumph which it is unworthy of them to feel; while infidels will carry the generalization farther than Mrs. Trollope, and find an impersonation of *all* Christian clergymen in the flagitious "Vicar of Wrexhill;" who was the admiration of his "*brother shepherds*," and is made the representative of a party, which all may not know to be declining.

Yet, as has been often said, "none are all evil." Classes of

men, at least, cannot well be entirely possessed by all opposite iniquities, as by a legion of conflicting devils, at one and the same time. The doctrine of human corruption may be sufficiently asserted, without making all the blackest shades of human character to exist altogether without one gleam or particle of light. In fact, Mrs. Trollope's delineation outrages nature as much as it shocks decency and good feeling. We doubt even whether she is serving her own purpose, if that purpose be to write down the Evangelical or Calvinistic party. The exaggeration defeats itself. It causes a re-action in favour of the traduced. It arouses and arms a sense of justice in their behalf. Every honest man sees and feels,

"Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

And, therefore, when any other writer objects to the really objectionable features in (so called) Evangelicalism, it may be a natural impulse to turn away from his statements with disgust, and to suppose that he *Trollopizes*.

But to sum up and conclude: if the entire details were true of any single individual, it would be indecent in any friend of the Church to publish such an account of that one individual. If the several particulars were true of several persons, but were true, collectively, of no one person whatever, it would be an atrocity to publish such an account as the embodiment of a class. If the statements are not in *any* sense true—and gross exaggeration is not truth—we should be sorry to express our opinion of the moral characteristics of the author, if male—and still more, if female,—who could publish such an account for the sake of miserable gain. But beyond even this stage of literary crime, there is one crowning perfidy, one more consummate infamy, from which, we do in our hearts trust, Mrs. Trollope may be completely absolved. That perfidy, that infamy, would be, by the pointed mention of some slight particularity in demeanour, or some unfortunate circumstance in life, to direct the attention of the ill-natured to some actual and individual person, as the possible original of the Vicar of Wrexhill; while in the general character there was no shadow of resemblance.

This work has been pronounced to be very clever. Clever it may be.—But the appearance of cleverness, we apprehend, is greater than the reality. For it is no difficult achievement to gain the credit of cleverness by startling and unmeasured allegations. The majority will seldom inquire whether the drawing is correct; but they are attracted if the colours are vivid, and the figures stand out in prominent relief; and thus are apt to ascribe to the force of talent, what is rather due to the force of effrontery: and many a man has mounted into reputation, at least into a fleeting and unenviable notoriety, by a slashing hardihood of style. Few things,

in fact, are easier than to write strongly and strikingly, if people can bring themselves to write without self-respect or self-restraint. But in all performances which pretend to depict a person or a class of persons, if they are to have any value or any commendation, the first requisite is *fidelity*, and the second requisite is fidelity, and the third requisite is fidelity.—*Rien n'est beau, que le vrai*. If Mrs. Trollope fancies that these volumes are generally calculated to be of use, she is woefully mistaken. If she fancies that they will be acceptable to the High-Church party, and that she is to be thanked by that party for her labours, she is mistaken in a still more lamentable degree: *non tali auxilio*—they will not recognize Mrs. Trollope for an ally. And if she fancies, in consequence of immediate success, that they are such as to keep her in lasting favour with readers and publishers, even here too, we apprehend, she may ultimately find herself mistaken to her cost.

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ART. V.—*Sermons on various Subjects*. By the Rev. James S. M. Anderson, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Chaplain to the Queen Dowager, and Perpetual Curate of St. George's Chapel, Brighton. London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1837.

If this were the first production of an unknown author, we should have been anxious, as far as our good word might have been of any value, to bring it into notice by a criticism in detail. But Mr. Anderson's name carries with it its own praises in the literary world, and his celebrity as a preacher is sure to attract attention to what he writes. Our task, therefore, may be almost simplified to the mere statement, that the present volume is at least equal to its predecessor; and that it fully sustains the high reputation which Mr. Anderson has acquired. We find here, as before, copious stores of research and information brought to bear, skilfully and unostentatiously, upon the subjects which he discusses: we find the same graceful accuracy of style in the more level parts of exposition and narration, the same affectionate earnestness, the same impressive vigour, in the more solemn and hortatory appeals: we find, too, the same tact and delicacy in combining a due respect for persons of exalted rank with the proper dignity and authority of a Christian minister, who, in all its essential characteristics, has but one mighty message to deliver, whether to rich or poor, noble or peasant, sovereign or subject.

“Comparisons are odious;” and we therefore would avoid them. But we may be allowed to say, that, if other popular preachers

are deemed to surpass Mr. Anderson in passionate eloquence, and the glow of an impetuous imagination, he has, on his side, the advantage in point of judgment and sound taste. Thus, in the published sermons, an account of which was rendered almost needless by their extensive circulation, preached by Mr. Melvill, at Cambridge, in February last, there are many specimens of great power of thought and extraordinary felicity and brilliancy of diction. But heartily as we admire the breathing words, the bold figures, the picturesque images, the forcible reasonings, the rapid, vivid, fervid perorations, there are also, we think, occasional departures from the path of sober discretion. There are many things fanciful, many doubtful, many overstrained, and some unsound. The extreme length, for instance, to which the argument is carried, in favour of the self-evidencing inspiration of the canonical Scriptures, as distinguished from the self-evidencing non-inspiration of the apocryphal, and the complete sufficiency of the internal demonstration as apart from the external, appears to us, like all other attempts at proving too much, quite dangerous, because quite untenable.\* Again, in another performance which it is almost superfluous to review, namely, the sixth volume of the

\* We do not look in Mr. Melvill for very profound divinity, or very extraordinary erudition: but envy itself must acknowledge his great abilities and his great eloquence. Nevertheless, we have expressed, and we reiterate, our hope that Mr. Melvill will not be taken as a model, either for matter or style, by the young clergymen of our Establishment. Both are, in our honest opinion, as far as parochial ministrations are concerned, not indeed altogether vicious, but still blotted with some essential and capital faults. We have spoken on former occasions of the strained, flowery, trope-studded language, sometimes widely and strangely deficient in plainness and simplicity: and the volume now before us would not justify the repetition. But Mr. Melvill is oftentimes smitten with a desire to discover some unusual subject, and treat it in a new and startling manner. Yet the real difficulty and the real triumph of preaching, is to enforce home upon the mind and conscience, trite, simple, but all-important truths; to urge old topics in common language; and to send the hearer back to his house, awakened, humbled, and impressed; not so much astonished by the blaze of oratory, excited by vehemence of tone or gesture, and captivated into an admiration which seldom goes beyond the words and him who speaks them; but thinking far more of the argument than of the preacher, sensible of his own sins, and anxious to grasp the proffered means of salvation. To say the same things which the best and most pious ministers of Christ's church have said from the beginning, to tread in their path, to follow their footsteps, and yet not servilely to copy or verbally to repeat them; to take the same groundwork, and yet add to it an enlarged and diversified range of illustrations, brought up as it were to the age, and adapted to time and circumstance:—this is, we think, the true originality of the Pulpit. To be on the watch for striking out some novel method of display,—to dash into the fanciful, because it is an arduous task to arrest the same eager notice by the familiar—this is not originality, but mannerism or singularity. And although few can be original, nothing is more easy than to be singular.

Such attempts, in fact, are the part of a second-rate understanding, no less than of an ill-regulated ambition. Mr. Melvill should quite repudiate them: and these remarks, we ought, in justice, to say, are far more applicable to a sermon surreptitiously printed in *The Pulpit*, on Satan as the "*Prince of the power of the air*," than to any which Mr. Melvill has recently published in his own name.

collected works of Dr. Chalmers, containing the "*Discourses on the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life*," we find innumerable traces of that fertility of mind, and that cogency of address, and that splendour of language, in which the author is, perhaps, unrivalled among the writers of the day. But we likewise meet with blemishes and extravagances of style, any general imitation of which would inevitably lead to the degeneracy and corruption of our literature. For example, Dr. Chalmers is animadverting on the bad habit of telling servants to say "*not at home*," when the master or mistress of the family is really within doors: and also on the evil custom of a tradesman in saying, that he has no more of such or such goods in hand, when the truth is that he is unwilling to trust his customer to any farther extent. Let our readers observe, in what a strange disguise of tawdry magnificence Dr. Chalmers dresses out and embellishes these homely and somewhat common-place propositions.

"Now, what we call upon you to mark, is the perfect identity of principle between this case of making a brother to offend, and another case which obtains, we have heard, to a very great extent among the most genteel and opulent of our city families. In this case, you put a lie into the mouth of a dependent, and that, for the purpose of protecting your substance from such an application as might expose it to hazard or diminution. In the second case, you put a lie into the mouth of a dependent, and that, for the purpose of protecting your time from such an encroachment as you would not feel to be convenient or agreeable. And, in both cases, you are led to hold out this offence by a certain delicacy of temperament, in virtue of which, you can neither give a man plainly to understand that you are not willing to trust him, nor can you give him to understand that you count his company to be an interruption. But, in both the one and the other example, look to the little account that is made of a brother's or of a sister's eternity; behold the guilty task that is thus unmercifully laid upon one who is shortly to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; think of the entanglement which is thus made to beset the path of a creature who is unperishable. *That, at the shrine of Mammon, such a bloody sacrifice should be rendered by some of his unrelenting votaries, is not to be wondered at; but that the shrine of elegance and fashion should be bathed in blood—that soft and sentimental ladyship should put forth her hand to such an enormity—that she who can sigh so gently, and shed her graceful tear over the sufferings of others, should thus be accessory to the second and more awful death of her own domestics—that one who looks the mildest and the loveliest of human beings, should exact obedience to a mandate which carries wrath, and tribulation, and anguish, in its train—O! how it should confirm every Christian in his defiance to the authority of fashion, and lead him to spurn at all its folly, and at all its worthlessness.*"—pp. 172, 173.

The latter sentences of this extract are almost in the worst

style of pulpit declamation: while other parts of the volume are so admirable, that scarcely any other man in the empire, except Dr. Chalmers, could have written them.

Mr. Anderson's first sermon is on Conscience; and it is perhaps, the more useful, that it is practical rather than speculative, and does not pretend to sound all the depths of the controversy. The matter, indeed, if philosophically considered, may soon become involved in a web of metaphysical difficulties, where, as usual, the confusion of ideas and the ambiguity of language act and re-act upon each other. The definitions given of conscience are scarcely ever the same: men differ as to what it is, and as to what it does: and, for the most part, instead of accurate analysis, we have vague expressions about the internal monitor, and the tribunal within the breast. Sometimes conscience is regarded as an intellectual faculty, sometimes as a moral sense, and sometimes as both; sometimes as the accuser that impeaches the culprit; sometimes as the jury, that discusses and finds the verdict; sometimes as the judge, who pronounces the sentence whether of acquittal or condemnation; and sometimes, as at once accuser, and jury, and judge, and executioner of vengeance. Or, if we take it, generally, as a moral sense, then the word *sense* itself becomes equivocal. With some it is an active power: with others it is a mere feeling. With some it is the test of vice and virtue; it distinguishes between right and wrong: with others, it only marks *our apprehensions* of right and wrong; or it is the subsequent perception, of pain or pleasure, the emotion, or impression, which approves or reprobates, when the practical reason has already discriminated.

Nor is it possible, perhaps, entirely to separate these things, or draw an exact line of demarcation between them: since, in truth, the divisions, into which we distribute the powers, qualities, and operations of our mental and moral being, are rather convenient for the purposes of mutual explanation, than actually existent in the nature of man. We even doubt whether all the perplexities of the matter can ever be removed to our mortal comprehension, notwithstanding the mighty multitude of pages which are written from year to year, notwithstanding the labours of Bishop Butler on the subject, and the somewhat cloudy magnificence in which Dr. Chalmers has enrobed it. The comfort is, that, although metaphysicians may stumble, and be bewildered, and grope in the dark, sincere and humble Christians can hardly miss their way: although utilitarians may puzzle us for a moment, a man may receive light enough for his direction through life, as soon as he looks honestly into himself and into the Bible. This salutary view, which is, however, by no means shallow, is taken by Mr. Anderson, to whose judicious discourse we would refer our



readers, instead of attempting to pursue the topic through all the intricacies and subtleties, to which it might lead.

The second sermon, on that familiar and striking text, "*work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do,*" is eloquent and valuable, like the rest. Nor are we aware, that it makes any doctrinal assertions, as to "*the grace of God, and the agency of man,*" which are not sound and orthodox, and fully borne out by the general sense of Holy Writ. Yet we have always deemed, that this very common text, on account of the inaccuracy which, in its present form, it involves, is a signal example of the use, or rather the necessity, of looking to the Epistle, or at least the entire passage, instead of detaching a particular sentence—or part of a sentence—in an arbitrary and almost violent manner. For the words, "*work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do,*" always, as it appears to us, cause a misapprehension, more or less, when they are separated from the context, and stand by themselves, as if they constituted the whole proposition laid down by the Apostle. They thus seem to imply—and some excellent commentators, we allow, maintain this construction to be the correct one—that an opposition is expressly stated between man's working and God's working. But is this really the antithesis, which, in strict philology, the passage *alleges*? We think not. St. Paul is writing to the Philippians from his confinement at Rome. But, although he was then "*in bonds,*" he expresses his confident hope of "*coming to them again:*" and he adds, c. 1, v. 27. "*Only let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ; that, whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel.*" He exhorts them, in the noblest language, and on the sublimest motives, whether his presence must be withdrawn, or not, to persevere in unity and holiness among themselves: and sums up his argument, by saying, "*Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.*" It is almost as if he had said, "*I may be in prison and at a distance; I may not be able to assist you with my personal example and advice; but there is one far mightier than I: and, therefore, do you exert yourselves, for the most High God is your fellow-worker, by his preventing and co-operating grace.*" The opposition, therefore, is, in point of fact, if we regard the grammatical structure of this portion of the Epistle, not so much between the Divine agency †

and man's agency, as between the Divine agency and St. Paul's; and the Philippian converts are encouraged to work and strive, because God's working in their behalf, of his sovereign and gracious pleasure, is infinitely more powerful and more efficacious than the Apostle's. We repeat, that the doctrine asserted by Mr. Anderson is altogether Scriptural, and even substantially contained in this very place: but we also contend, that, by insulating the text, and beginning in the middle of the 12th verse, something of misconception is produced, and some violence is done to the principles of grammar, and the canons of just criticism.

But it is impossible for us to go through these sermons one by one, however well they might deserve a separate examination. We turn, therefore, to the fourth, which strikes us as embracing views at once correct and lofty on a most important theme. The text, indeed, condenses into a very brief sentence the whole truth and marrow of an elaborate disquisition,—“*Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.*” Yet there are many reasons why a good popular address—really a *concio ad populum*—on the duties and prerogatives of Christian ministers would be an essential service both to the people and the Church. Few subjects can be named, on which it more concerns the bulk of a Christian community to have definite and correct notions; yet, there is scarcely any on which their actual notions are more loose and inaccurate. The multitude are for ever oscillating between opposite extremes; now treating the Clergy as their “*hired servants*,” now investing them with a plenary power and jurisdiction, which cannot be attributed without idolatry, save to God himself: now vilifying and decrying them as beings dependent at best upon the breath of a congregation; now exalting and magnifying them into infallible oracles, and almost into absolute deities;—the same persons, perhaps, passing from ribald contempt to superstitious dread and veneration, as their vices predominate, or the fears which are the consequence of their vices. Who indeed can have been practically acquainted with our parishes, whether in town or country, or have closely observed the life and death of their poorer inhabitants, without perceiving how wild, incoherent, and contradictory, are the sentiments still too often prevailing as to the office and privileges of the priesthood? A man shall have been, through long years of rude and boisterous health, a drunkard, a Sabbath-breaker, a blasphemer, a licentious scoffer at parsons and their mummeries, and then he will be frightened beyond measure as he is seized by a sharp and fatal distemper: or else his family will send, in hurried consternation, for the minister, and beg that he would “*say a few prayers over*” their expiring relative; prayers, it may be, which the being whom

they should most interest can no longer understand or even hear ; or that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered, without an hour's preparation, to the insensible and unhappy wretch who never thought of receiving it before ; when his impotent hand can no longer be stretched forth to take the bread, and the wine can scarcely be poured through the pale and convulsed lips, on which the hues of death are settling. And this, they dream, can be efficacious to the saving of his soul ; and they can urge the minister to read the comfortable words of forgiveness and absolution from "The Order for the Visitation of the Sick ;" quite forgetting that this pardon is contingent upon the previous fulfilment of certain conditions, and is only to be read by the minister when the spiritual state of the sick person has been in some measure ascertained ; quite forgetting, too, that after all, it is but *declaratory* on the part of the minister, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;" for that God indeed "hath given power and commandment to his Ministers, to *declare* and *pronounce* to his people, *being penitent*, the absolution and remission of their sins ; but that He himself, and He only, pardoneth and absolveth all those that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his Holy Gospel." God forbid that we should deny, or even seem to disparage, the value of spiritual consolation about the bed of disease and dissolution : yet, alas, a wrong estimate of the functions of the Christian priesthood *may* so transmute them into instruments of evil, that while they are of no real benefit to him who is passing away, they shall be actual snares and stumbling blocks to the survivors, actual encouragements to them to continue in a life of sin, with a belief that they may yet die the death of the righteous. While men require to be told that the commission of "the ministers of Christ, and the stewards of the mysteries of God," is a high, and solemn, and holy, and Apostolical thing,—they also require to be told, that if they hope for salvation, it is not the minister who can save them ; but that they must strive for themselves, and pray for themselves, and have faith for themselves, and repent for themselves. It is a strange phenomenon to behold, together with that intense hatred of Popery which usually burns in the mind of our population, how many relics of Popery still survive, lingering, as it were, in the sheltered nooks of ignorance and prejudice ; as the snow, when the sun has warmed the more level and open spaces, may be seen, sometimes late in the spring, lying at the side of the hedges, or by the brow of the hills.—But it is time to return to Mr. Anderson, whose sermon will be found a good corrective of the contrary extravagances which we have mentioned.

The discourses preached on particular occasions are generally,

*It is so we  
conform  
our con  
nation*

perhaps, as excellent as any others in the volume; and we may specify the eighth, delivered shortly after the Confirmation of Prince George of Cambridge; and the last, "on the Death of his late Majesty, King William the Fourth," as exemplifying our preceding remark as to the skill and discernment of Mr. Anderson, in harmonizing the sacred functions of an ambassador of the King of kings, into the respectful deference which is due to temporal dignities. As, however, we have room for only one quotation, we prefer to make it from the sermon on "*Ezra reading the law*;" as it may serve to show how fine and graphic is our author's treatment of a subject which might appear at first sight somewhat unpromising.

"The reading of the Law, in fact, revealed to the eyes of Israel a spectacle, the same in kind as that which had overwhelmed with awe the spirits of the Patriarch, the Prophet, the Apostle. It was the spectacle of Jehovah's creative glory, Jehovah's avenging power, Jehovah's redeeming mercy. They saw there His gracious counsel calling their great ancestors to the knowledge of His will, giving unto them the promise of His covenant, and sealing that covenant with the solemn token of his own appointment.\* They saw there that 'a Syrian ready to perish had been their father,' that he had gone 'down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and had become there a nation, great, mighty, and populous.'† They saw there, further, that, from the tyranny of Egyptian bondage, the Lord had brought them forth 'with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terrible-ness, and with signs and with wonders.'‡ Amid those wondrous signs they saw judgments mingled with mercies;—the waters standing on an heap as a way for the ransomed to pass through; the pillar of fire and of cloud; the manna falling from heaven; the water flowing from the Rock; the Law proclaimed amid the terrors of Sinai; the tabernacle appointed with its sacred ordinances; and the terror of opposing enemies baffled and confounded. These were the miracles of God's love; and alas! with these they saw also the signs of His righteous anger;—the Sabbath-breaker stoned; the leprous Miriam; the yawning earth; the fiery serpents; the wasting pestilence. Still they looked onward, and saw there the onward course of God's good promise;—the land flowing with milk and honey; their fathers entering therein; and receiving for their portion 'great and good cities which' they had builded not, 'and houses full of all good things,' which they had filled not, 'and wells digged' which they had digged not, 'vineyards and olive trees' which they had planted not; §—and notwithstanding that they forgot and transgressed His word, they saw God still bearing with them, still multiplying His acts of goodness, still sending unto them all His 'servants the prophets, daily rising up early and sending them.'|| Was not this a picture fitted to subdue the spirits, and to call forth the tears of those

\* See Genesis, chapters xii. xv. and xvii.  
§ Deut. vi. 10, 11.

† Deut. xxvi. 5.  
|| Jer. vii. 25.

‡ Ibid. 8.

who gazed upon it? To see God's vineyard fixed 'in a very fruitful hill;' thus fenced on every side, the stones thereof gathered out, and a tower 'built in the midst of it;' to see it planted with the choicest vine, which, 'when it had taken root, filled the land,' and covered the hills with its shadow, 'and its boughs were like the goodly cedar trees;'—to see all these things, and yet to find that, when the Great Master of the vineyard 'looked that it should bring forth grapes, it brought forth wild grapes,'—what was this but cause for mourning? 'He looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry?'

\* No marvel that the sentence of God's wrath should have gone forth against the place of the vineyard, which His right hand had planted, and the branch which He had made so strong for Himself. No marvel that it should have been burnt with fire, and cut down, and have perished at the rebuke of His countenance.† They who now listened to these revealed counsels of the Lord had known, had seen, had felt their awful reality. They had been driven forth with shame from the gates of Sion, and the chosen city and temple of the Lord had been 'delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence,'‡ even as His prophets had foretold. In the far off land of their captivity they had suffered the threatened chastisement of the Lord. He had fed 'them with the bread of tears,' and had given 'them plenteousness of tears to drink.' He had made them a very strife unto their neighbours; and their enemies had laughed them to scorn.§ The vineyard, once fenced on every side, had been broken down; the wild boar out of the wood had rooted it up; and the wild beasts of the field devoured it.|| 'Turn us again,' then, was the prayer which fell from the hearts and lips of disobedient and chastised Israel, 'turn us again, O Lord God of hosts; shew the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.'¶ And verily their cry had come up before the throne of the Lord of hosts. Their prayer had been answered. He had turned Him again, and looked down from heaven, and beheld, and visited His vine. He had promised that Israel should not be forgotten of Him,\*\* and His promise was accomplished. What though desolation had been spread upon the face of Palestine, and the hand of the Babylonish tyrant stretched out against her children, yet did the Lord redeem Jacob, and 'glorify Himself in Israel.'†† 'The word of His servant' was confirmed, and 'the counsel of His messenger performed,' 'that saith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the cities of Judah, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed places thereof: that saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.'‡‡

"The multitudes who now thronged the streets of Jerusalem had been themselves eye-witnesses of these things. They had seen the pomp of

\* Compare Isaiah, v. 1—7, and Psalm lxxx. 8—11. † See Psalm lxxx. 15, 16.

‡ Jer. xxxii. 36.

§ Psalm lxxx. 5, 6.

|| Ibid. ver. 12, 13.

¶ Ibid. ver. 19.

\*\* Isaiah, xlv. 21.

†† Ibid. ver. 23.

‡‡ Ibid. ver. 26—28.

Belshazzar's pride, the destruction of Belshazzar's fall ;—the gates that defended him broken through, and the bars of iron cut asunder ; the waters of the broad Euphrates dried up ; and the hand of the spoiler falling upon the horses, and upon the chariots, upon the treasures, and upon all the mingled people that were in the midst of the idol city.\* They had seen these things. They had heard the proclamation of the royal Cyrus, bidding them go forth to Jerusalem ; and as, in their hour of distress, the cry for pity and for pardon had been heard among them, so now, 'when the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, as the rivers in the south, their mouth was filled with laughter and their tongue with joy.'† They had sown in tears, but now they reaped in joy. They had gone on their way weeping, and bearing forth good seed ; but now they had come again with joy, and brought their sheaves with them.‡ Behold then the mingled feelings of Israel's people. Behold the record of all these marvellous acts brought, one by one, before them ; all that could melt the hardened, or subdue the reckless, or awaken the sluggish, or quicken the faith, and hope, and love of the believer,—and then may you understand the blessed fulness of that consolation wherewith their rulers encouraged them, saying, 'This day is holy unto the Lord your God ; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law.'—pp. 191—196.

In short, all these sermons are well calculated to fix the attention, to impress the mind, and to improve the heart. We like them the better, perhaps, that they form, in general, a continuous strain of argument or exhortation, instead of being divided into three or four laborious ascents to some turgid climax ; at the close of which, we should expect that there would be a clapping of hands, or a sound of *Hear, hear*, to attest the power of the preacher. We like them the better that they are not mere declamations in the *sky-rocket* style, where the whole harangue is to fizz and flare with brilliant flashes and astonishing coruscations, till, at the end, the orator mounts up upon the lightnings and the thunders of his eloquence ; almost, if we may snatch a similitude from the recollections of years long past, like Madame Sacchi, or some other dancer on the tight rope, amidst the blaze and the tumult, the noise and the splendour, of the last fire-works of Vauxhall. Mr. Anderson works up his conclusions to a sufficient pitch of animation ; but his aim seems to be, and very properly, as we have already hinted in a note, that he may dismiss his audience rather chastened, affected, and solemnized, than heated, dazzled, or overpowered.

\* See Isaiah, xlv. 1—3 ; Jer. l. 35—38.

† Ps. cxxvi. 1, 2. 5.

‡ Ibid. ver. 6, 7.

ART. VI.—*Two Memorials, addressed to the General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the alleged corrupt Character of some of its Publications.* London: Seeley. 1837.

A DROP of cold water, thrown in the playful wantonness of power, has before now led to the dissolution of committees and councils of state. A drop of cold water, thrown in sober sadness on the project of five Essex ministers, has raised a ferment, which nothing but the remodelling of a great ecclesiastical body can appease. The provocation given for presenting these two memorials, appears to have been no more than the refusal of the Tract Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to recommend a reprint of Fox's Book of Martyrs, at the expense of the Society. The exciting cause for publishing them, the refusal of the Standing Committee to sit in conclave and dictate an answer, "*grounded on reasons specific and particular, and entering into the details of the case,*"\* to the two documents themselves: which consist of more than one hundred closely-printed octavo pages, and contain the most grave charges against divers eminent prelates and divines of honoured memory in the Church of England, involving the general character of the books and tracts which have been circulated by the Society "for more than one hundred and thirty years."† The total absence of all practical wisdom in the request itself is but an ill omen of the degree of intelligence to be expected in the memorials. But the request being refused, the rejected addresses are here presented to the public; tendered gratuitously to all the district societies throughout the land; and, that none may slight the importance of the question at issue, they are prefaced by a dedication to the throne of majesty itself, to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, as well as to the general body of members of the Society, whom alone, one would suppose, such a question properly concerns.

What is the end aimed at in this publication? We are told that the "character of the Society" is compromised by the decision of its committee; that an appeal to the members at large was "the only resource" of the memorialists; and that "their object is to improve the constituted agency provided by the Society," in order to "the more effectual dissemination of the truth as it is in Jesus;"‡ in other words, to destroy the confidence which the Society has placed in the body of select members, forming its standing committee;§ and to have that confidence transferred to seven clergymen, "well conversant with the writings of our Re-

\* Memorials, p. 106.

† Ibid.

‡ Introduction.

§ P. 107.

formers," who shall review and report upon the publications of the Society, in order to a final decision, what shall be abolished, and what retained.\*

Now it must occur to the reader of this solemn statement to ask, first, what particular claim the letter and requisition of five ministers, in the flats of Essex, had to such consideration, that the character of the Society is compromised by the committee's decision. The names of the memorialists are as follow:

"Hastings Robinson, D.D., Rector of Great Warley,  
Henry Budd, M.A., Rector of White Roothing,  
Guy Bryan, M.A., Rector of Woodham Walter,  
Charles Isaac York, M.A., Rector of Shenfield,  
Henry B. S. Harris, B.A., Rector of Leaden Roothing."

The first of these gentlemen is little known to the reading public, except by one or two academical publications, written in Latin not remarkably classical, and which, though they may not greatly impeach his usefulness as a parish priest, render his verdict at least questionable, in all such matters as require to be debated by a learned clergy. The second is the author of a set of little tracts entitled "*Helps for the Nursery*;" of which we have only heard that they are intended to convey to those who have the charge of such infantine departments, some peculiar notions on the subject of Christian Baptism. With the names of the remaining three we are entirely unacquainted: they are known probably as praiseworthy ministers in the confines of Leaden Roothing; but we know of no indefeasible claim they could prefer, above all other ministers of Essex or Suffolk, Kent or Christendom, to have repeated sessions of the committee appointed to hear and answer their theological lucubrations.

Secondly, supposing the names of these gentlemen to be ever so distinguished among the masters in Israel, what probability could there have been that a requisition should have been immediately granted, the proposers of which went the length of meditating a radical change in the constitution and character of the Society, accusing its first founders of a deliberate design to disguise and corrupt the doctrines of the Reformation, and prepare the public mind for a countermarch to the camp of Popery? To say nothing of the cuckoo-game covertly attempted by the five members, who, after joining a society, whose principles the act itself should imply that they approved,\* would remove the writings of Ken, Patrick, Kettlewell, and Melmoth, to replace them with

\* P. 16.

† These gentlemen have, however, a different view of the matter; they endure the burden on their consciences, "simply with the hope of improving the Society's books and tracts," p. 107, i.e. according to their own statement, they are doing evil, that good may come.



“Honest Roger” or “Helps for the Nursery,”—what probability was there that any general meeting or select committee of the Society could have thought themselves justified in passing a public censure on those good men, who, whether mistaken in some of their tenets or not, were the first founders of that system of social co-operation among churchmen, by which, for more than a full century, the translated Bible, the Liturgy, and elementary doctrines of the Church, have been made known, wherever English colonies and commerce have carried the influence of our native land?

The Essex ministers, however, are abashed by no such scruples. They do not intend to confine their efforts for the improvement of the constituted agency of the Society to the publication of these manifestos, but announce their purpose of proposing a resolution, grounded upon them, to a general meeting, as soon as sufficient time has been allowed for their circulation; and in the interim invite other members, individually or collectively, to make known their sentiments to the Society. We shall therefore beg leave to communicate ours through the medium adopted by the five ministers, the public press. We shall offer a few short notes on these memorials, and the design which they avow of restoring true Protestantism from a thralldom nearly double in duration to the Babylonish captivity.

It is well known that so long ago as the year of our Lord 1690, Archbishop Tillotson had proposed to Bishops Burnet and Patrick, a design of getting up a new Book of Homilies, “not intending,” as he expressed himself to those prelates,\* “to lay aside the book already established, but to add a new one. He thought that the old book was not full enough, and that it was, according to the state of things at the time in which it was composed, fitted chiefly to settle people’s minds right with relation to the Reformation, and in opposition to Popery. He thought that such a work had been of great use; but that another Book of Homilies, that should contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Christian religion, was necessary chiefly for the instruction of the clergy, and it might be also a family book for the general use of the whole nation.” The plan is detailed at length by Burnet, and was to have comprized a course of doctrine for the year, fifty-two homilies for the Sundays, and ten for some selected festivals and fasts; for which subjects were expressed, suggested chiefly by the services for the day. Among other particulars, “in the six Sundays to Whitsuntide, the doctrine of Justification

\* Burnet’s Sermons and Essay, 1713, p. 193.

“ was to be explained, and some expressions in the first book, *that seemed to carry Justification by Faith only to a height that wanted some mitigation*, were to be well examined, and all that St. Paul had written on that head, both to the Romans and the Galatians, was to be explained, and reconciled to what [St.] James wrote on the same subject.”

“ At that time,” says Burnet, “ the King and Queen set out proclamations against profane swearing, breach of Sabbath, lewdness, and drunkenness: so the Archbishop put it upon me to draw, for an essay, homilies on these subjects. He said he would take a large share of the work to himself; the like also Bishop Patrick was willing to undertake; and he knew several persons who had considered some matters relating to this scheme very critically, to whom he would assign such parts of it, as they would be both very willing and able to execute well. He also told me, that he had proposed the design to the present reverend and most learned bishop of Worcester, [Lloyd,] who approved highly of it,” but would take no part except of revising and correcting. In due time Burnet made his draft of five homilies, which, after Lloyd had corrected them, were shown to Tillotson, who according to Burnet, “ was so pleased with this essay, that he told him he must take for his share the whole *Ten Commandments.*”

On this proceeding the five ministers make the following comment:

“ Here is a plain and simple detail, given by one of the most active originators of this and the sister Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *of the dissatisfaction of the leading Divines of our Church in the day when this Society was founded, with our Homilies generally, and with the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation*, so ably, and lucidly, and perseveringly, and Scripturally insisted on in them, viz. Justification by Faith alone: Bishop Burnet expressly stating it as the design of the divines of his day, that ‘ some expressions in the first book that seemed to carry Justification by faith only to a height that wanted some mitigation were to be well examined.’ The Homilies in the first book here alluded to, as carrying the doctrine of Justification by Faith only to a height that wanted some mitigation, are, it is to be presumed, the third and fourth; the first of which is usually ascribed to the pen of Archbishop Cranmer, and has long been looked upon as one of the most elaborate and accurate statements of that doctrine ever presented to the Church. That the divines of Bishop Burnet’s day, with whom the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge originated, should have desired to mitigate the height of the Reformers’ statement of this doctrine, is a plain evidence that they had fallen from the purity of Christian doctrine as held at the Reformation: the eleventh article of our Church marking, with the most explicit approbation, the truth of

the doctrine as expressed in the Homily. Nor does it appear that this design, to mitigate the height of the doctrine of Justification by Faith only, was confined to the most eminent divines of the day in which the Society arose; such as bishops Tillotson, Patrick, Lloyd, Burnet, &c. but Bishop Burnet affirms that Archbishop Tillotson said '*he knew several persons* who had considered some matters relating to this scheme very critically.'—*Two Memorials*, pp. 5, 6.

They then proceed to give a short extract from Burnet's second homily, which it is not necessary for us to insert, as we are not aware that these homilies were ever circulated by the Christian Knowledge Society; but which appears to us by no means unscriptural, stating that "a man who feels a forgiving temper in himself, may hence gather an argument to plead for forgiveness." (See the words of our Lord's prayer, as they stand in St. Luke, xi. 4,) and from Tillotson's approbation of this doctrine, as well as from the design before announced, "they submit it has been proved that the first founders of the Society held and recommended a style of divinity directly opposed to the great leading doctrine of the Reformation."—p. 8.

There are two or three little assumptions in this statement, which it is necessary to consider before we enter on the main question. First, it is assumed that Tillotson was one of the founders of the two sister societies,\* The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698; the Gospel Society in 1701: whereas *Tillotson died in 1694*. It is plain, therefore, that the five ministers have, in this particular, as the French critic says of Canning, poached on the manors of futurity. Secondly, that Patrick, Lloyd, and Burnet were all sympathetic with Tillotson in thinking that some expressions in Cranmer's homily required to be mitigated: which is only inferred from Burnet's stating nothing to the contrary. Thirdly, that the several persons whom Tillotson knew, to whom he intended to assign parts of this Apocryphal Book of Homilies, were all, like himself, Jesuits in disguise: which is all assumed from the fact that "*he knew them*."

The facts of the case are no more than this; that Tillotson proposed a new Book of Homilies, and approved of Burnet's essay towards it when it was done;—that he spoke of some expressions in the first book of Homilies, not as actually carrying, but *seeming* to carry, Justification by Faith only, to a height that wanted some mitigation; that he set Burnet to write homilies, not on this subject, but against swearing, sabbath-breaking, lewdness and drunkenness, and was so well pleased with his performance, that he said he wished him to write,—still not upon Justification,

\* This is assumed throughout the Memorials. See pp. 20, 24.

but upon the Decalogue. The whole proof of conspiracy then is centred in a remark of Tillotson's made in familiar conversation not pursued into action at all; unless it be evident, that encouraging a set of homilies against the deadly sins, is indicative of a design to restore Popery, and to overthrow the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation.

It may perhaps be surmised, that the design to get up a new Book of Homilies was in itself a proof of an intention to abolish the book of Cranmer and the Reformers. The five ministers have interpreted it so; they call the whole story "a plain and simple detail of the dissatisfaction of the leading divines of the day, (read '*one* leading divine'), with our Homilies generally." But as Tillotson expressed no dissatisfaction with the Homilies generally, but only with some phrases used in one Homily,—as he professed that he did not intend to lay aside the book already established, but to add a new one, the inference is most unfair. Unless the Homilies, sanctioned by authority, contain in themselves a complete body of divinity, which, we presume, not even the Essex ministers will contend, an addition to them might be perfectly harmless, and for many reasons desirable. Whether the age of Tillotson was favourable for making such an addition, is another question: the obscurity which has been the lot of Burnet's essay, appears to be an argument to the contrary. Bishop Jebb has recorded his opinion,—and his opinions were not hastily formed,—that there is no reason to regret the "scheme did not succeed: the specimens are dry, jejune, and spiritless."\*

As to the proximate cause of the failure, the Essex ministers not having alluded to it, it is necessary we should state the words of Burnet at the conclusion of his preface, from which the above exposition of the plan is taken. "We found," says he,† "*a spirit of opposition and contradiction grew so strong, and it was so much animated and supported, that we saw it was to no purpose to struggle against it at that time.*" It is plain, therefore, that there was at least a large proportion of the "leading divines of the day," who disapproved of a plan which might even seem to throw any discredit on the old Book of Homilies;—that this feeling was so strong and so general, that Tillotson and Burnet were obliged to give way before it; and that it was not till two and twenty years afterwards, that Burnet thought it advisable to recall public attention to the design at all.

The conspiracy, then, of which Tillotson and his confidential friends are accused, is so far from being proved,—the very design, to which such a colour is given, was so entirely abortive,—the

\* Practical Theol. vol. ii. p. 305.

† Burnet, as before, p. 200.

evidence of the Essex ministers so entirely breaks down,—that for very pity we could wish to lend them a helping hand, if it could be done without injury to truth. Shall we then confess that Tillotson appears to us to have spoken some things which are questionably expressed on the subject of a Justifying Faith; some things which are not easily reconcileable with the language of the Homilies? We do not say not reconcileable with the doctrine, but with the language; and the language, not of the Articles, but of the Homilies. He no doubt was disposed to qualify or mitigate some expressions in them. We see no manifest treason to the Church of England in this. For as to the Homilies, though we believe the doctrine they contain is “godly and wholesome,” and to be read with the reverence, which is due to all the writings of our Reformers; we are not tied to maintain all that is there said in confirmation of the doctrine, nor to receive their exposition of particular passages in Scripture, as always the best that could be found.\* We regard it as most contrary to the intention of the Reformers themselves, as a most injudicious and undue extension of the sanction given them in the Articles, to number them with the symbolical writings of the Church of England. Are we to receive texts from the book of Tobit, as the undoubted teaching of the Holy Ghost?† Are we to be considered as setting our hands to an authentication of the miracles wrought at the tomb of Epiphanius,‡ or the legend of Pope Joan?§ Can we say of Ahab’s repentance, that it was “an humble submission in heart unto God?”|| Are we bound to maintain every pious opinion of our Reformers, as, with Bradford, that there will be a renovation of brute creatures, or, with Latimer, that our Blessed Saviour descended into the place of torments? Let us honour these holy men with the honour which is undoubtedly their due; but let us not blindly take their private opinions as a part of the Catholic Faith by them restored.

But, we confess, Tillotson appears to us to have spoken some things questionably on the doctrine of our Justification. He delivers it as the sum of his doctrine on this point,¶ that “where the Scripture speaks of Justification by faith, it speaks not of a bare appropriation of the grace and mercy of the Gospel; that is, in plain English, it is not justifying faith to believe that I am pardoned and justified, nor to have a full assurance of this.” (So

\* See Bishop Pearson’s Tract, “No Necessity of Reformation in the Doctrine of the Church of England.” 1660. pp. 9, 10.

† See Homily of Almsdeeds. Part ii. p. 235. ed. 1673.

‡ Against Peril of Idolatry. Part ii. p. 113.

§ For Whitsunday. Part ii. p. 285.

|| Of Fasting. Part i. p. 175.

¶ Sermon ccxxvii.

far he is undoubtedly right; for even the Calvinistic prelates, Davenant and Prideaux,\* agree with him in this.) “For if we be justified by faith, we must believe before we can be justified; but if this be justifying faith to believe or be assured we are justified, we must be justified before we believe; or else, when we believe that we are justified, we must believe that which is not true.” (And this too is undeniable; though the argument was first used, as it appears, by Bellarmine.†) “Nor is this justifying faith, to lay hold of the righteousness and merits of Christ for the pardon of our sins; that is, to confide and trust only in that, as the meritorious cause of our pardon. For though this be part of the notion of justifying faith, it is not all; though this be one of the terms or conditions upon which we are justified, yet it is not the whole or entire condition: which, besides this, takes in an assent to the whole Gospel, repentance from dead works, and obedience to the precepts of the Gospel. And if any man can produce any one text, which saith that the faith which justifies consists only in a trust and confidence in the merits of Christ for pardon, or any thing to this effect, I will be most ready publicly to acknowledge my error: but if nobody can do this, I shall beg pardon if I continue still of the same mind as I was.”

Now here we think there is some confusion in his statement. “We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,” Art. xi. If this be true, the faith by which we embrace this truth is a justifying faith; in other words, no faith can justify which has not a primary regard to this part of Christian truth, a regard to the Author of our justification. It is confessed that a justifying faith includes in itself, or is inseparable from, “an assent to the whole Gospel,\* repentance from dead works, and obedience to all the precepts of the Gospel.” But as our justification is not to be found in these, but in the merit of Him who died for us, our faith, as far as it justifies, must rest upon the Author of our Salvation, through whom

\* Davenant, Determ. Quæst. s. 37, p. 167. “*Fatemur fiduciam non esse fidem justificantem, sed fidei justificantis filiam; ad quam anima nominis post multa fidei et sanctitatis exercitia solet eniti.*” Prideaux, Fasciculus Controv. c. v. s. 5, 6, p. 269, makes it a necessary consequence, but not of the essence of justifying faith.

† Bellarmin. de Eccl. iv. 21. “*Sectarii nostri temporis docent, omnem hominem justificari sola fide speciali, qua quisque credit se propter Christum coram Deo esse justum. Quod cum quolibet paradoxo comparari potest; non est enim supra, vel præter, sed contra omnem rationem. Quæro enim, quum incipio credere me esse justum, vel sum justus, vel injustus: si justus, igitur justificor per illam fidem, quæ est posterior meâ justitiâ; si injustus, illa fides est falsa; ergo non est fides justificans, nisi dicamus homines justificari per mendacium.*” See Arrowsmith, *Tactica Sacra*, ii. 7.

\* “Non negamus, quin Dei verbum *omni ex parte* amplectantur et suscipiant fideles, &c.” Calvin. *Instit.* III. ii. 29.

alone we can be enabled to repent and to obey. To say then that our repentance and obedience are to be respected in the act of justifying faith, in the same way as our trust and confidence in the meritorious cause of our pardon, is a mode of speaking which does not sufficiently distinguish between the Source of Life and the path to life, or between the end and the means. The Homily of Cranmer, therefore, seems more correctly worded, where, referring to several texts in the Epistle to the Romans, he says, "St. Paul declareth nothing upon the behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith; which, nevertheless, is the gift of God, and not man's work without God. And yet that faith doth not exclude repentance, hope, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it excludeth them from the act of justifying." Here we have, indeed, the concurrent doctrine of the Reformation in expounding St. Paul, as briefly expressed in that sentence of Chillingworth, "Faith alone justifies, but not that faith which is alone."

What then is the amount of Tillotson's error, if error it be? He has blended with the essence of justifying faith its inseparable concomitants, or rather, with faith in its act of justifying, things, which though they are a part of true faith, do not belong to it in that act. It is a statement logically incorrect. Not that, as the Essex ministers would charitably infer, Tillotson held the poisonous doctrine of "*meritorious conditions*;"\* for his language here disclaims it; and we have not learnt to consider it a legitimate art of controversy to charge an opponent with holding consequences which he disclaims. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to take down any volume of his writings without finding many a zealous protest against the Romish doctrine of merit. And surely it was against this corrupt doctrine that the Reformers of our Church were most anxious to guard, not against modes of stating the doctrine of Justification, on which it is well known that the most eminent Reformers differed. It is not the belief of the Church of England, that this doctrine is "the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation;" she does not call it the "*articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*;" but "a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort." And wishing us to take the comfort of it rather than dispute about it, she refers us to the Homily as enlarging on this view of it, not as containing a symbolical statement of the doctrine itself. In the Article she directs our thoughts to the only merit of Christ, rather than the mode of its application. And good reason. For, it may perhaps surprise the Essex ministers

\* Two Memorials, p. 41.

to be so informed, but there were advocates of the Church of Rome in the age of the Reformation, who were ready to grant justification without works, if they might have held it with their notion of merit.

"Master Champion graunted," says Nowell in his report of their Conference,\* "that good workes do come after the first grace, and not to be joyned with our first creation in Christ Jesus. He sayde *he would not refuse to subscribe, that we be justified by faith onely*, so that we would subscribe, that being so justified, we ought afterward to walke forward more and more in the workes of righteousness.

"We graunted that we would so subscribe.

"But Master Sherwin said unto M. Champion, 'Take heed what you do.'

"Then sayde Master Champion, 'Yf you will so subscribe and graunt withal, that those *good workes are meritorious*, or do merite, I will subscribe to faith onely.'

"Doe you now come in with your merite? sayde we, we will none of it; neyther will acknowledge any merite in respect of our justification, or of the kingdome of heaven, but only the merites of Christ's passion. And so our subscribing was dasht by Master Champion's addition of merite to that which before he promised without any mention thereof."

To return to these memorials:—Having, as we have seen, made good their proof that the two old Church Societies were established with the godly design to unteach the doctrines of the Reformation, the Essex ministers proceed to show how the design was carried into effect by circulating such books as Nelson's Festivals and Fasts, and the Whole Duty of Man. Now if historical facts entered at all into the concoction of the opinions formed at Leaden Roothing, it might have occurred to the memorialists to ask how a zealous Whig and Latitudinarian, like Bishop Burnet, and a primitive and pious Nonjuror, like Robert Nelson, were likely to have made common cause. The league between Blifil and Black George was nothing to such a coalition. But let that pass. For in the opinion of these five Presbyters, "the whole society," all the leading Churchmen of that period, and their children downwards to our own time,\* adopted the sentiments of Tillotson, "the fruitful source of the false doctrine which distinguishes the Society's publications."

We must confess that there is a fairness and freeness in this avowal, for which we ought to be thankful to the party from which it comes, as it opens very fully the extent of the mine that

\* Ed. 1583, p. 27.

† Pages 8, 24, 104.



is in process of excavation under the Society. It comprises at once the destruction of the Christian character not only of Tillotson and his friends, but of Sharp and Compton, whose sufferings under James might, one should think, have cured them of all love to Popery; of Sprat and Kidder, Sherlock and Stanley, Beveridge, Gibson, Stanhope, Lucas, and Hody; Gideon Harvey, Lord Chancellor King, William Melmoth, and many eminent and pious laymen, down to the worthy Sir Richard Blackmore, who all had a hand in the foundation of the two societies. As to the succeeding generations of accessories after the fact, they cannot be numbered.

But to the proof. A great part of the Second Memorial is taken up with a critique on Nelson's Festivals and Fasts, and the Whole Duty of Man, both which, in several passages, they contrast in opposite columns with their own paraphrase of the Articles or Homilies, and especially the latter. Here we must enter our protest at the outset against such a mode of establishing charges of false doctrine. The main articles of our belief are comprised in the Church's Creeds; to which the books are not accused of adding any thing, nor have they diminished any thing from them. The simplest truths of Christian doctrine are best learnt from the Church's Catechism, and the Liturgical offices; to which the Essex ministers have in none of their criticisms referred. Now is it not confessed that the statements both of the Homilies and the Articles are in the main one-sided statements? The circumstances themselves, out of which they arose, necessarily made them such. The Puritan had not yet shown himself; the Antinomian extravagance of the seventeenth century was not even suspected. The statements were drawn with almost a single view to the Papal errors; they are generally controversial statements; and it is a most imperfect view of the reformed doctrine, which confines itself to these statements, without referring to the Liturgy.

This defect is indeed so vital, that we might safely appeal for a verdict of *Not proved*, on this ground only. But as we have no fears from allowing the trial of Robert Nelson to proceed, we will discuss the specific charges brought against him. The first passage selected for animadversion from his work is the following:—

“Q. What persons may be denominated Saints in the Church Militant?

“A. Such who not only believe the doctrines of the Christian religion, but conform their whole lives to the precepts of it; such who not only have a holy faith, but are purified thereby, who have a sincere regard to God and another world in all their actions, and are constant and

“uniform in the discharge of their duty; who abstain from all kind of “evil, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.”\*

This passage the memorialists contrast with a lengthy paraphrase of their own on the seventeenth article, to which we shall hereafter refer; and conclude by saying that Nelson’s saint, instead of being “saved by mercy and formed by grace,” according to the doctrine of the Church, is “saved by works, forasmuch as he is said to conform his whole life to the precepts of Christianity.”†

It is difficult to imagine how so innocent a passage could be so misunderstood; or on what principles of reasoning such a conclusion could be formed. Nelson here says nothing of the operation by which his saint is formed: it must therefore be left for the Essex ministers to say how it was revealed to them that he is not formed by grace. They will say, perhaps, that such a saint cannot be formed on earth; for this is the sum of four-fifths of their objection. To which we would simply answer: Did He, who taught his saints to “be holy, as He is holy,” give them a precept which His grace would not enable them to fulfil? Or is it the pure Gospel, for which they are so zealously affected, which bids them set limits to our Saviour’s victory over sin, and say to the power of divine grace, Thus far and no farther shalt thou go?‡

But Nelson’s saint was “not formed by grace.” This may be better answered by Nelson himself: and we envy not the feelings of the men, who, after hazarding such a charge, shall read in the pages of Nelson the words of this saintly prayer:

“O holy Father, I desire above all things to partake of thy “righteousness; having utterly defaced and corrupted myself, I “would gladly be new-made by Thee; having hitherto miscarried “whilst I would be in my own hands, I desire now to be altogether in thine. I loath myself, O my dear God, whilst I am “without Thee; and whatever else I lose, my earnest prayer is, “that I may recover thy likeness through Jesus Christ my Lord.

“I know, O gracious Lord, that I cannot receive this but from “thyself; therefore be Thou the blessed Giver, and the Gift. I

\* Nelson on the Festival of All Saints, p. 342, ed. 1818.

† P. 25.

‡ “Repentance,” says our Homily, “is a returning of the whole man to God.” What else does Nelson say? “We are never truly conformed to the image of the Son of God, till our old man is crucified with him, and the body of sin is destroyed. Let us therefore address ourselves to the Son of God, entreating him that he would derive into our soul the mighty efficacy of his divine and all-sufficient sacrifice, in order to accomplish that sacrifice of our old man, which can only qualify us to partake of his glory.” True Devotion, c. ix. This is the language of the man whose saint is not formed by grace!

" know also, alas! that I am utterly unworthy to have thy divine  
 " image stamped upon my soul: but I extremely need it, and I  
 " extremely value it; and such Thou art pleased to account  
 " worthy of it. Hear me, therefore, O my God, and breathe  
 " into my heart that spirit which renews me after thine own  
 " image in righteousness and true holiness. I am poor and  
 " naked: O fill me with thy righteousness! My good thoughts  
 " are inconstant and changeable: O fix them by thy grace! Set  
 " up thy kingdom, O Jesu, in my heart; for to become thy  
 " faithful servant is more to me than to have the empire of this  
 " world: Keep me stedfast, O Lord, in serving Thee, till thou  
 " takest me finally to enjoy Thee, through Jesus Christ, my  
 " Blessed Saviour and Redeemer."\*

Let us pass to another charge:

" Q. What obligations," says Nelson, " have we to the performance  
 " of the duty of charity, or the love of our neighbour?

" A. The frame of our nature disposeth us to it."†

This Pagan sentiment is contrasted with a passage from the  
 Homily of the Misery of Man, part ii. " Of ourselves we be  
 " crab-trees that can bring forth no apples; we be of such earth  
 " as can bring forth but weeds: we have neither faith, *charity*,  
 " hope, patience, chastity, nor any thing else that is good, but of  
 " God; and therefore these virtues be called there the fruits of  
 " the Holy Ghost, *and not the fruits of man.*" The words of the  
 ninth Article are also added, which say that " man is of his own  
 nature inclined to evil."

But how is it here inferred, that Nelson spoke of our nature  
 in its unmitigated corruption, and not of nature informed by  
 grace? Because he does not mention grace. Neither does he  
 mention the corruption of nature. This proves nothing. But  
 suppose we grant that he spoke of nature as opposed to grace,  
 had he no warrant for what he here says at full, that we are dis-  
 posed to love our neighbour by " the frame of our nature, and  
 " our inclination to society, in which there can be no pleasure, no  
 " advantage, without mutual love and kindness?" Is there not  
 one who has told us, that " if we love them that love us, DO NOT  
 " EVEN THE PUBLICANS THE SAME?" It is well said by an au-  
 thority which perhaps the Essex ministers may respect,‡ that  
 " grace destroys not the natural passions of the soul, but corrects  
 " them only by destroying their corruption; and so they become  
 " not merely not contrary to grace, but are made the subject and

\* The prayer is Kettlewell's, but adopted by Nelson. On Ash Wednesday, p. 381.

† Festival of St. John Evangelist, p. 79.

‡ Leighton, Sermon, viii.

“seat of grace. The passion of love, which is the chief of them, “it abolisheth not, but rectifies it, recalling it to its due object, “and turning it into the right channel.” Surely, then, a preacher of charity would lose one of his most persuasive arguments, if he neglected to point out how natural is that love which the law of God seeks only to refine. Or do the Essex ministers intend us to understand that the best capacity for the Gospel grace of charity is to be “*without natural affection?*”

The next false doctrine of which Nelson is accused is, that our charity is to gain our acceptance with God.

“Q. How is a day of fasting to be observed by serious Christians?

“A. By relieving the wants and necessities of the poor, that our humiliation and prayers may find acceptance with God.”\*

A passage which is placed in contrast with the Tenth and Twelfth Articles where “good works” are said to be “the fruits of faith, “acceptable to God in Christ,” and that “we have no power to “do good works without the grace of God by Christ preventing “us.” How Nelson contradicts these Articles in this passage, it is not in our power to divine. The duty he enjoins is to be practised “by serious Christians:” if there are any answering to that character without faith, they at least did not enter into Nelson’s reckoning. For the rest, what will the Essex Council say to the teacher whom Nelson followed? Isai. lviii. 7, 9.

The next passage is not Nelson’s, but Kettlewell’s. It is taken from one of his prayers.

“Remember not against me my manifold follies, but let them all be done away by thy mercies, and my blessed Saviour’s merits, *and my own true repentance.*”†

In which, say the memorialists, using Bishop’s Hall’s words, “man is made to part stakes with Christ” in the article of his justification.‡ How so? Does not Kettlewell here beseech God to grant him true repentance? What he asks for as a gift, how can he value as a merit of his own? There is much more, however, on this same doctrine of repentance.

“Q. What are the great advantages of frequent examination?

“A. It prompts us to *repentance as the only cure* for that guilt which oppresses our minds.”§

\* Preliminary on Fasting, p. 360. Compare Cyprian. De Opere et Eleemosynis, p. 199, ed. Fell. “Neque enim promereri misericordiam Domini poterit, aut implebitur de divina pietate aliquid in precibus, qui ad precem pauperis non fuerit humanus.”

† Easter Eve, p. 419.

‡ Page, 28.

§ All Fridays, p. 508. The singular perverseness of judgment, which could take offence at this passage, will be more conspicuous, if the reader will refer to the preceding question and answer.

The cure, but not the Physician! The very term implies a higher source from which the cure must come. Again:

"Though pardon and forgiveness of sins were procured for us by the death of Christ, yet *repentance is necessary to qualify us to receive the benefit of it.*" Ash-Wednesday, p. 374. "That is," say the Essex ministers, "unless we qualify ourselves by repentance to receive the benefit, the death of Christ does not procure pardon for us: repentance must be first in man, before the blood of Christ can avail him." p. 29.

"They are greatly deceived, that preach repentance without Christ. "They that think they have done much of themselves towards repentance are so much the more farther from God, because they do seek those things in their own works, which ought only to be sought in our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the merits of his death, passion, and bloodshedding." Hom. of Repentance, Pt. i. p. 327.

But how does it appear that Nelson here does "preach repentance without Christ?" or thinks "he can do much of *himself* towards repentance?" Because he does not say how repentance is to be wrought in us. This is the prime fallacy of all the Essex logic, drawing an inference from negatives. Why not interpret Nelson by himself, and ask him how this qualification is to be obtained?

"Most merciful God," is this good man's prayer, "who desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn and live, who hast graciously, in thy holy Gospel, provided for our recovery, and encouraged our repentance, by many promises of pardon and forgiveness, *fit and prepare me for this exercise of thine abundant mercy, by true sorrow and hearty contrition*, by condemning my past follies, and by stedfastly posing entirely to forsake them for the time to come: and then, O heavenly Father, for thine own infinite mercies' sake, whose property it is to show compassion; for thy truth and promise' sake, who art faithful and just; for the merits and sufferings of the Son of thy love, in whom thou art well pleased; cleanse me from all my iniquities, receive me into thy favour, and let me continue therein all the days of my life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."\*

But he teaches "that repentance must be first in man, before the blood of Christ can avail him." Is this false doctrine? Cranmer, we imagine, taught the same, when he said that "repentance is to be joined with faith in every man that is justified." Is it not in the nature of cause and effect, that conviction of sin, and repentance towards God, must precede faith in the blood of Christ? How can a man believe in a Saviour, of whom he has not yet felt the need? The truth is well stated in those words of Arminius: "Repentance comes before faith in

\* St. Peter's Day, p. 288.

“ Christ; but follows that faith, whereby we believe that God is willing to receive the penitent into grace.”\*

“ Q. How was St. Peter recovered from his fall ?

“ A. Endeavouring by *his penitential tears to wash away his guilt.*”†

This passage appears to the Essex ministers to assert that penitential tears, and not the blood of Christ, wash away guilt. The full answer begins thus:—

“ By our Saviour’s gracious look, whereby he called to mind what our Saviour had foretold. And by passionately bewailing his folly and the aggravations of it, endeavouring, by his penitential tears, to wash away his guilt.”

Surely here is no preaching of penitence without Christ. The gracious look of his Blessed Master revived his failing faith, and caused those penitential tears to flow, by which, instrumentally, St. Peter’s guilt was washed away. Is this contrary to the doctrine of the Homilies? The Homily of Repentance, referring to Joel, ii. 12, 13, says, “ We have here a perpetual rule appointed us, which ought to be observed and kept at all times, that there is *none other way* [save repentance] *whereby the wrath of God may be pacified and his anger assuaged.*”‡ In fact the writers of the Homilies do not scruple to say of other acts of religion besides repentance, that they wash away sin.

“ *Give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.*” § Christ teacheth, that to be merciful and charitable in helping the poor is the means to keep the soul pure and clean in the sight of God. We are taught therefore that merciful *alms-dealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin . . .* And that holy Father Cyprian taketh good occasion to exhort earnestly to the merciful work of giving alms and helping the poor, by the which we may purge our sins, and heal our wounded souls.||

“ But some one will say, If alms-giving and our charitable works towards the poor be able *to wash away sins, to reconcile us to God*, to deliver us from the peril of damnation, and make us the sons and heirs of God’s kingdom: then are Christ’s merits defaced, and his blood shed in vain, then are we *justified by works*, and by our deeds may merit heaven. Understand, dearly beloved, that neither of those places of Scripture, neither the

\* “ Pœnitentia fide in Christum prior est; posterior vero illa fide qua creditur Deum velle pœnitentem in gratiam recipere.” Arminii Articuli de Pœnitentia. Opera, p. 960.

† St. Peter’s Day, p. 281.

‡ p. 325.

§ Hom. of Alms Deeds, part ii. p. 235, 236.

|| — “ solis eleemosynis Deum posse placari.” Cyprian, De Oper. &c. p. 192. This Homily is in many parts a translation from Cyprian’s Treatise.

“doctrine of the blessed Martyr St. Cyprian, do mean that our work and charitable deed is the *original cause of our acception* before God, or that for the dignity and worthiness thereof our sins may be washed away; for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud him of his glory.

“The meaning of these sayings is, that we, doing these things according to God’s will and our duty, have our sins indeed washed away, and our offences blotted out; not for the worthiness of them, but by the grace of God, which worketh all in all: and that, for the promise that God hath made unto them that are obedient unto his commandment, that He which is the Truth might be justified in performing the truth due unto his true promise.”

What makes it more remarkable is, that these memorialists have quoted this Homily at some length in another part of their remonstrance.\* If they would only have thought it possible that Nelson might have used an equivocal expression with as innocent a meaning, they might have saved themselves and us some unnecessary trouble. In the meantime they proceed to select, as unsound, passages which contain the most literal exposition of Scripture.

“Q. Whence arises our obligation to repentance?”

“A. From the absolute necessity of it, in order to make us capable of the mercy and forgiveness of God: without repentance we must be unavoidably miserable; for it is the great condition upon which our salvation depends: and this change in our wicked tempers must be wrought before we can be qualified for that happiness promised in the Gospel covenant.”†

Now what is there asserted here, or in twenty other passages to the same effect, which is not virtually implied in the very title of the “Homily of Repentance and of true reconciliation unto God?” What is there in the words themselves, which is not a literal exposition of those texts which bid men to “seek good, and not evil, that they may live?” to “repent and be converted, that their sins may be blotted out?” which teach us that they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh,” and “except we be converted and become as little children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven?” Are we to teach that a man is “made meet for that inheritance,” before he has made the conquest of one sin, or begun the practice of holiness? The memorialists would lead us to conclude so, by objecting to a question of Nelson’s, in which he says that St. Matthew “entirely conquered the vice of covetousness;”‡ as if such a phrase was perfectly

\* p. 88, 89.

† On Ash Wednesday, p. 377. Memorials, p. 29.

‡ St. Matthew’s Day, p. 510. Memor. p. 38.

inadmissible in speaking of one who at the first call of his Blessed Saviour left all and followed him;

“ At once he rose and left his gold;  
His treasure and his heart transferred.”

With what faith can these censors offer up the Church’s prayer on St. Matthew’s Day?

Hitherto we have taken the objections as they stand; but there is so little variety in the succeeding pages, that we must be allowed to say the answers already given will apply equally to them all. As an illustration of the manner in which these charges are got up, we will extract a short catalogue, which occurs at p. 57.

“ ‘ Q. When is our mortification an acceptable sacrifice ?’\* ”

Obj. ‘ There occurs no mention of Christ in giving the sacrifice acceptance.’

‘ Q. What are the best helps to attain humility ?’†

Obj. ‘ Neither Christ nor his Spirit are mentioned as helping our infirmities.’

‘ Q. When may we said to set our affections on things above ?’‡

Obj. ‘ No mention occurs of the obvious answer suggested by the context; when we are “ risen with Christ,” [which is no answer at all, but implied as a part of the question:] and when we are by faith enjoying that spiritual life which is hid with Christ in God.’ [See the last words of Nelson’s answer.]

‘ Q. What is necessary to cure this sort of presumption ?’§ [self-confidence.]

Obj. ‘ There is no distinctive reference to the cross of Christ, &c.

‘ Q. When may a fast be counted religious ?’||

Obj. ‘ There is no distinctive reference to Christ or the Holy Spirit in the answer.’ ”

Now is it essential to a clear view of Gospel truth, that all just principles of reasoning should be discarded? How does any one of these real or fancied omissions prove that Robert Nelson made no account of Christ or his grace in building up the virtues of a Christian life? How can ten or twenty negatives prove a positive? This kind of proof is so absurd, that it really borders upon the ludicrous. There is a foolish story of an angry man, but discreet withal, who told a soldier of military rank, that “ setting aside his knighthood, he would say he lied:” to which the knight quietly replied, “ he could not allow any thing to be set aside which properly belonged to him.” In the same manner, setting aside God’s grace, the doctrine of Nelson lies; but seeing there is scarcely a page in Nelson’s book which does not

\* On the Epiphany, p. 104.

† On Easter Sunday, p. 148, 149.

|| Preliminary on Fasting, p. 358.

‡ On the Purification, p. 123.

§ St. Peter’s Day, p. 287.



assert the necessity, or pray for the gift, of God's grace, we cannot allow that to be set aside which so properly belongs to it.

We now come to graver matter. It is part of Nelson's doctrine:—

“That all our religious actions are of no value in the sight of God, except they be performed with a respect to his authority, and out of obedience to his holy will; and that by designing other by-ends, as our own profit, or the praise of men, we *lose our title* to that reward which He has promised.”\*

That our service should *entitle* us to reward is a phrase which the five ministers cannot tolerate; and yet it is said of those who do the commandment, that “they have a *RIGHT*,” in some sense, “to the tree of life.”† But if the above proposition is false, the contradictory to it must be true; viz. that *some men*, by designing other by-ends, as their own profit, or the praise of men, *do not lose their title* to reward. In fact, the Essex ministers lay this down as one of the axioms of Christianity.

“As to losing our title by false and imperfect motives, or ‘*forfeiting our title to rewards by consenting to any known iniquity*,’ as Nelson intimates;‡ as our title never stood on the perfection of our repentance, or any other work or grace, ‘for all the works we can do be imperfect,’ says the Homily; so we *can never lose our title or forfeit it*, so long as it depends on God's mercy in Christ; for ‘our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God,’ &c.; so that neither imperfection of motive, *nor consenting to any known iniquity*, shall be laid to our charge.”§

We doubt whether Crisp or Saltmarsh ever said any thing more Antinomian than this. Let the Essex ministers ask themselves how it agrees with the service which they read upon Ash-Wednesday. In fact the system of these five Presbyters is essentially Antinomian, as may be seen from the whole tenour of their running comment. Of a saint or true Christian as described in our Church's Articles, they say,—“The development and application of God's purpose of mercy to him as a sinner, is at once the privilege and duty of him as a saint:” which, divested of its cumbrous phraseology, seems to mean that the private persuasion of his own part in Paradise is all that he has to seek or labour for. And this is educed from the Article, which warns us, at the outset, that God's counsel is “*secret to us*,” and, at the close, that “we must receive God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture,” not substituting a private revelation of our own.

And this is called “his duty as a saint,” as if it included all his duty, “the working out of his own salvation,” meaning nothing more than his making sure of God's purpose of mercy to himself.

\* St. Bartholomew, p. 303.

† See Bishop Hopkins's Sermon on this text.

‡ Forty Days of Lent.—Prayer iv. p. 370.

§ P. 36.

Let us take heed. There are indeed given unto us "exceeding great and precious promises:" but what is the character of those who shall partake of them? Let us beware how we thus persuade ourselves of God's favour, as if for us He would cancel the eternal difference between good and evil. For what was it but this which led to the heavy rejection of God's chosen people? Persuaded that "they could not by consenting to any known iniquity forfeit their title to reward," they kept not the law of their fathers, but CONDEMNED THE INNOCENT. And how shall erring man discern his way, when he has made it a part of his belief, that he may more safely consent to any known iniquity, than suspect the certainty of his title to reward?

The Essex ministers have given us, in another part of these Memorials, their own exposition of Scriptural truth:\* which, besides embodying the modern symbolical phrase of 'a Tri-une Jehovah,' (a phrase which either confounds the Holy Persons, or divides the Substance,) is pervaded by the same views of personal assurance, "*certain* evidence, and *infallible* accompaniments of God's gracious design to save them." They elicit from the Articles and Homilies that very doctrine, the absence of which was one of the reasons against subscription urged by the old Puritans.† Yet these are the men who press their claim to be heard as "well conversant with the writings of our Reformers." In the mean time, without suspecting this practically Popish doctrine of their own, they conclude their consignment of Nelson to the Expurgatory Index thus:—

"What wonder if this Papist in spirit should hold doctrines expressly Papistical, such as—the saints praying for us, and Mary the Mother of God."

"Q. 'What communion have the saints here below with the saints above?'

'A. They pray for us, for our consummation in bliss.'—*Nelson. All Saints' Day*, p. 345.

—"No man knoweth whether they do pray for us or no; and, if any will go about to prove it by the nature of charity, because they did pray for men on earth; then may it be said by the same reason, that as oft as we do weep on earth, they do also weep in heaven."  
—*Hom. on Prayer*, part ii. p. 196.

"With respect to the passage which gives the reasons 'why the Blessed Virgin Mary is [styled] the Mother of God,' and which appears in the common editions of Nelson's work,‡ but is *expunged from the Society's edition of 1833*, 12mo. your memorialists will no further dwell upon the subject, than to show the plain Popery, in which this confused

\* Pp. 12--15.

† "They affirme that a man, after he hath receyved the Holy Ghost, may fall from grace, [Art. xvi.] contrarie unto the *certainie* of God his election."—*Puritan Register* (A Collection of Tracts published by the Puritans), p. 553.

‡ On the Annunciation, p. 138.

system of faith and works must necessarily terminate : to express their pleasure to find that the Society is not unaware of the erroneous nature of its publications, and is in some measure desirous to correct them ; and to avail themselves of the present occasion to press on the Society *the utter hopelessness of correcting such a work as Nelson's*. The poison of false doctrine—salvation on the meritorious condition of works,—pervades it from first to last ; and when the body is full of thorns, the removal of one or two will afford but little relief to the sufferer.”\*

We have several things to say to this passage. And, first of all, we would gladly know by what precedents the Council of Leaden Roothing condemns these doctrines for Popish. As to the saints praying for us, the Homily they quote says nothing ; it merely touches on an unsound argument used to prove it ; the Homily says much *against our praying to them*. Had the objectors looked a few lines further, they would have seen that the author of the Homily had no objection to admit the supposition : “ Admit,” he says, “ that the saints do pray for us, yet we do not “ know how, whether specially for them that call upon them, or “ *generally for all men, wishing well to every man alike :*” which was probably his opinion, taken from the Augsburg Confession,† and which was evidently Nelson’s. That the saints who are delivered from the burden of the flesh do “ pray for our consummation and bliss,” is a pious opinion which many eminent Christians have held as a part of the Communion of Saints. And the interest, which the saints departed evidently feel in the warfare of their brethren on earth, makes the opinion not only pious but probable. See Rev. vi. 10, 11 ; xi. 17, 18.

Without the imputation of Popery, however, it may be supposed that they feel a more particular desire for the felicity of friends or children left below. St. Augustin, speaking of his deceased friend Nebridius, before the doctrine of the sleep of the parted soul was yet current : “ In sinu Abraham Nebridius “ *meus vivit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem, Domine, adopti- “ vus ex liberto filius. Ibi vivit ; nam quis alius tali animæ “ locus ? Jam non ponit aurem ad os meum, sed spiritale os ad “ fontem tuum, et bibit quantum potest sapientiam pro aviditate “ sua sine fine felix. Nec sic eum inebriari arbitror ex ea, ut “ obliviscatur mei, quum tu, Domine, quem potat ille, nostri sis “ memor.*”‡

Archbishop Bramhall, in a tract addressed to a papistical opponent, who had aimed at converting Prince Charles to the communion of his mother : “ We do not doubt but the *prayers of*

\* Pp. 40, 41.

† “ In cœlis orant pro ecclesia in genere,” is put as a supposition probable from Scripture. Apol. Augst. Confess. ix. 3.

‡ Confess. lib. ix.

"his father, who now follows the Lamb in white, will be more effectual with God for his perseverance, than the prayers of his mother for his change."\*

But it may be said that these are only rhetorical passages, from which no certain doctrine can be presumed. Let us then go to our Church's expositors of the Apostles' Creed.

Barrow, in his interpretation of the Communion of Saints, says, "That all the saints, those which either now converse upon earth, or *which are received into heaven*, communicate, partake, join together, consent, and agree in what concerns saints or members of the same body; in believing and acknowledging the same heavenly truth; in performance of devotions and offices of piety toward God, with and *for each other*."

And Bishop Pearson, "The Communion of Saints in the Church of Christ with those which are departed, is demonstrated by their communion with the saints alive. For if I have communion with a saint of God as such, while he liveth here, I must still have communion with him when he is departed hence; because *the foundation of that communion cannot be removed by death*. . . . What acts or external operations this communion produceth is not so certain. That we communicate with them in hope of that happiness which they actually enjoy, is evident; that we have the Spirit of God given us as an earnest, and so a part of their felicity, is certain. They which first found this part of the article in the Creed, and delivered their exposition unto us, have made no greater enlargement of this communion as to the saints in heaven, than the society of hope, esteem, and imitation on our side, *of desires and supplications on their side*. What is now taught by the Church of Rome, as it is an unwarrantable, so it is a novitious interpretation."

If any one thinks the belief of this doctrine to lead necessarily to our praying to the saints, we see no such necessity. The will of the blessed inhabitants of heaven is one with the will of their Father and their God: no wish or prayer of ours, however lawful, could move them to ask acceptance for those whom God will not accept. Nor does this belief make it necessary for us to suppose that they know what is daily passing in this transitory scene, which might often interfere with their joy; consequently it is more than doubtful whether they could hear our prayers.† The error of the Romanists proceeds from their false notions of

\* Victory of Truth, &c. 1654. p. 197.

† Archbishop Bramhall, in the tract above quoted, refers to the same passage of Augustin as is quoted in the Homily, "Fatendum est, nescire mortuos quid hic agatur." Victory of Truth, p. 201.

mediation, and merits of the saints, whom they make not only intercessors with Christ, but propitiators of God's favour.\*

As to styling the blessed Virgin the mother of God, did the Essex ministers ever chance to hear of the Council of Ephesus, a council which *was not held in a corner*, and whose acts should be known at least to those who profess to be "well conversant with the writings of our Reformers," since our Reformers commonly appeal to them? Do they not know that the Church to which they belong, and all the sound part of the Reformation at home or abroad, respect the decrees of that council? And do they not know when and why the term Θεοτόκος was adopted, to embody a most vital truth, that the holy child born of the Virgin Mary was very God? They have no right to plead ignorance here. For they have, in their hasty injustice, referred us for "an account of the origin of this error,"† as they call it, to Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii. p. 177, 178. Doubtless Bishop Pearson has, in the place referred to, traced with his consummate learning the origin and progress of the name. But it is morally impossible that one of the five ministers can have read his words; how they infer that he thought the use of it an error is otherwise inexplicable. It was no part of Bishop Pearson's theological system to stigmatize as "*plain Popery*" a title adopted by the general consent of the Church of the Fathers. "We cannot," he says, "bear too reverent a regard to the 'Mother of our Lord,' so long as we give her not that worship which is due to the Lord himself. *Let us keep the language of the Primitive Church.* Let her be honoured and esteemed; let Him be worshipped and adored."‡

Such are the charges of plain Popery, preferred by a doctor of theology, three masters of arts, and one bachelor,—the one against a pious opinion, which Scripture renders probable, which the expositors of the Church's faith have sanctioned, and which no Reformed or other Church has ventured to condemn; the other against a venerable title, which Scripture authorizes, and the Church receives:—

"Mussat tacito Doctrina timore!"

There remains, however, a subject of deeper regret, an evil of far greater magnitude than the false chronology, false logic, and false divinity, of five country pastors, who have thus combined to stultify themselves. *By what authority has the work of Robert Nelson been subjected to the mutilation*, over which these zealous gentlemen sing their sabbath-notes, and antedate its doom? Whose is the rash hand that has inflicted so deep a maim? We trust that

\* See Apol. August. Confess. ix. 5, 7.

† See their note, p. 41.

‡ See also Barrow, Sermon. xxiv. on the Creed.

all the primitive-spirited members of the Society will make their strong remonstrance, that this *cutting and clipping* of the remains of the honoured dead may be once for all forbidden,—that such passages, as we have just been considering, in which nothing but ignorance or malice could find offence, *may be immediately restored*. As to this work of Nelson, the Church of England has reason to regard it as a public work; the best companion to the services of her sanctuary, the most popular connecting link between her and the primitive Church of Christ, the most devotional in its spirit, and simply intelligible and practical in its details, that any son of hers has produced. And as such it has been well approved. With the first settlers in the East, and to the farthest colonies of the West it has gone forth,\* wherever two or three have gathered together in obedience to the law of their Mother or their native land, solacing the labours of the missionary, or simple piety of the peasant, with such thoughts as hallow a communion-day. Alteration or diminution must debase the character and tone of thought in such a mind as his. And how unjust is it to his memory,—how discreditable to the Society itself, after more than one hundred and twenty years, to fix this note of heresy on the name of its earliest benefactor!† Surely, the success of this attempt to propitiate envy, as displayed in the Essex Memorials, will have some weight; the sight of *the limb lopped off* from the bleeding victim only animates the cry of *war to the knife* against his precarious existence! But we would appeal to better feelings and a sounder view of duty. Think, we would say, what benefit the Society has derived from the association of the name of Nelson with its own. Think how this work especially has become almost the property of the Society; how your editions are purchased, in faith on the part of the public, for the genuine record of his thoughts whose name they bear. Is it honest in the eyes of the world,—is it true to the trust you have received,—is it fair to the good name of the departed saint, to pare down or melt away the sterling ore of his writings, to send them out in a new shape? Even if you could question some statements in his doctrine, as not approvable to your judgment, is not something due to the character of the man? Is it not some praise to the Church in which he was reared, to have produced a man, who, with all the attractions of wealth and accomplished manners and personal grace, uninfluenced by disappointment or change of circumstance, renounced the world without a sigh, freely chose the better part,

\* See the nervous lines of the elder Wesley, prefixed to the old editions of the True Devotion:—

“Thy name the tawny Malabar has known;  
Across the great Atlantic Gulf ’tis flown, &c.”

† The first name in the list of benefactors is, “1715. Robert Nelson, Esq., 100l.

and humbly strove to adorn and make known the doctrine of his God and Saviour? And should not any committee, however competent, however respectable for Christian character, question their own impressions in judging of the long-approved words and thoughts of a mind like his? The spirit which dictated that book might well implore:—

“ Be kind to my *remains*; and oh defend,  
Against your judgment, your *departed friend*;  
Let not the insulting foe my fame pursue,  
But shade those honours, which descend to you.”

We have now done with the case of Nelson. *Let the wrong which has been done him be redressed.* The Whole Duty of Man falls next under the censure of the Essex ministers; and especially for representing the terms of the Gospel-covenant according to the language of the Baptismal Vow.\* But our readers, who have seen the kind of criticism, to which the work of Nelson has been subjected, will readily excuse us from entering into further detail. In the name of common honesty and common sense, we entreat, that those who are entrusted with the management of the Society's affairs will give no more encouragement to this more than civil war, in which Churchmen are turning their arms against their friends, and rending the bowels and spilling the life-blood of their mother. If these books were, indeed, what these intestine adversaries make them out, it would be too late to make that discovery now; the sanction of such names as have approved them good can never be done away, while the place of the Church of England remains. But this excellent book, the sound corrective of that Antinomian frenzy, to which we pray that neither the Church of Christ nor the social system of England may ever be exposed again, has besides a further recommendation in the Christian humility and retired benevolence of its unknown author. It is known that the author was the friend of Hammond; but who, or even of what sex this true yoke-fellow in the bonds of the Gospel was, is yet unknown. Never was there an instance of so many anonymous writings published with a design so pure. Never was there shown such abundant labour of love from a person whose name was so studiously concealed.†

The second memorial speaks of other books and tracts which have undergone the same process of the melting-pot.‡ We, in our simplicity, were really ignorant of this; except in the case of

\* Pages 46, 47.

† Instead of weakly defending the Whole Duty of Man, the Society would consult best for the object of its institution by adding other productions of the same pen to its list, especially the beautiful Art of Contentment, and the Christian's Birthright.

‡ See p. 81.

Melmoth, for whom an appeal was made at the time, not, as we hoped, in vain. But if these gentlemen state facts, one thing is quite clear: that it is the duty of any member who values the integrity of the Society's character, to demand, at one of the earliest meetings, *that an account of all the alterations, made in the new editions of previously authorized and standard books, be laid before the General Meeting, and printed for the information of the Society at large.* We have been duly informed, that, at the Monthly Meeting in March, 1836, the Tract Committee "declined that part of the office" which seems to have been assigned them, "of correcting passages deemed open to objection in works already on the Society's Catalogue."\* Now, as the word "decline," simply understood, has reference to the past as well as to the future, and as we conclude what was found impracticable upon the whole, has not, on principle, been retained in part, we may presume that the gentlemen composing that body have altogether extricated themselves from the false position they had inadvertently occupied. By whom then have these alterations been made? The Report to which we have referred goes on to say, that "*the duty of making corrections in the old books and tracts has reverted to the Standing Committee.*" The *duty* of correcting Robert Nelson or Jeremy Taylor! And *reverted*! How was it first given? Plainly not by virtue of any Rule or Order of the Society. And if any act of a monthly meeting conveyed to them such extraordinary powers, the proceeding was palpably irregular, without a previous alteration of the Rules and Orders. We must request that further attention may be called to the subject; and that those steps, which from the first were essentially unconstitutional, may be entirely retraced.

In conclusion we would, with all the humility which becomes fallible and infirm men, yet with all the earnestness which is required of lovers of truth and peace, intreat the members of this Society, and of the Church at large, to inquire diligently into the real causes of the dangers which we see and feel. Is it merely a perplexed theory on the mode of applying the Scriptural truth which we all cherish, which has given a new impulse to the genius of Popery,—or is it that "because iniquity abounds, the love of many has waxed cold?" Are not those preachers in court favour, who teach that all opinions are indifferent,—that the adoration of a sacred wafer, for instance, may be as laudable an act of service, as the worship of our Lord in heaven,—or, that whether we believe the soul mortal or immortal, the moral sense may remain unchanged? Has not the common saw of philosophical Paganism become the received creed of a large proportion

\* Society's Report for 1836, p. 18.



of our public men, that the God of Truth looks upon the different religions of the Bible, the Koran, or Confucius, with as much complacency as upon the different climates and productions of the soil? Are there not those who would consecrate the ardour of sensual passion as issuing from the fount of grace, and make the language of the fond, and frail, and miserable, a part of the dictate of "the royal law?"\* And in such a state of things, can it be wondered at, if the most corrupted forms of Christianity are those which find acceptance most,—if the Socinian and Papist make common cause, the one making it his principle to have no fixed belief, the other released from all personal concern in a matter in which he has not to answer for himself? Let us turn our thoughts to means by which the current of unbelief may yet be stemmed; let us think of our fathers in evil days, let us learn to steel our souls against the enticements of ease and luxury, and stand upon our watch while the powers of darkness are abroad!

And as to the Essex ministers, we would commend to their devout thoughts the *too prophetic* words of the good man whose memory they have traduced,

"It must be owned," says Nelson, "that Bishop Bull was indeed a very frank assertor of some primitive truths, upon which are built several errors of the Church of Rome: and among those who cannot or will not distinguish the foundation from the hay and stubble that is built upon it, we must not wonder if he was thought too much inclining to the Church of Rome. But this calumny hath been thrown upon the greatest lights of our Church, and upon one of the best men that ever swayed the sceptre of Great Britain; and will be the fate of many more, who shall zealously contend for the primitive doctrines and discipline of Christianity. And surely, if that excellent prince King Charles the First, and that primitive prelate Archbishop Laud, could not escape the load of such malicious and groundless imputations, it is not to be wondered if others who pursue their steps, and tread in their paths of religion, though they move in an inferior sphere, meet with the same obloquy and reproach, which they so severely felt. BUT YET, IN THE DAY OF ANY TRIAL, THE MEN OF THIS CHARACTER WILL BE FOUND THE BEST DEFENDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE BOLDEST CHAMPIONS AGAINST THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME."†

\* — "the love-tale in the sacred porch  
Infected Sion's daughters.

† Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 364.

ART. VII.—*Patience and Confidence the Strength of the Church: a Sermon preached on the Fifth of November, before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, and now published at the wish of many of its Members.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College.—Oxford: Parker. London: Rivingtons. 1837.

AMONG the various errors which distinguish and characterize the present day, there is none more common, there are few more dangerous or delusive, than an inconsistency with self, a fear of carrying out principles to their full and legitimate extent, from apprehension of popular derision or dread of popular indignation. For example,—the very men who denounce most justly the foul murder of King Charles the Martyr, and who repudiate the doctrine so familiar in the mouths of republicans and levellers, that “sovereigns may be cashiered for misconduct;” nay, who would tell you, that they do not recognize the sentiment that “the people are the source of all legitimate power;” shrink from speaking in terms of reprobation of the second rebellion, which, in 1688, drove a monarch from the throne of his ancestors; or, if pressed to the utmost, profess to regret the necessity of such a movement, admitting at the same time its expediency, and contenting themselves with a vain and empty protest against its being drawn into a precedent; utterly and too often wilfully oblivious of the fact, that the reasons which are employed and adduced to justify that, which in our blindness we style a “glorious revolution,” may be brought forward and alleged to defend, or at any rate excuse, every outrage, every atrocity to which seditious or discontented subjects have had recourse to redress real or fancied—for the principle is the same—oppression or wrongs. Men, in many respects amiable and well intentioned, go to Church, hear and join in the words of our beautiful Litany, which prays for our deliverance from “rebellion,” or make supplications in the Communion service for their Queen,—that, “duly considering whose authority she hath,” they “may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her,” in and for God, according to His blessed word and ordinance; and then they leave the consecrated place of divine worship; the words, if they have ever made any impression in their plain, due and obvious sense, slip from their hearts, the maxims of mere politicians, the fashionable sentiments of the hour, occupy their thoughts; and they reject as annulled, or disregard as obsolete, the mighty and great truths which their blessed forefathers cherished dearer than their life's blood, maintaining them during an

earthly pilgrimage, often hard and always laborious, and sealing them at the close of such pilgrimage with a martyr's confession, at the block, the gibbet, or the stake. In what manner, then, and by what means were principles of the highest value and consummate importance to be again fully and entirely developed? How was the mind,—we will not say the public mind,—but the mind of persons anxious for information, however deluded and confused by the prevailing opinions of the hour, to be disabused of its errors, and restored to a healthy and consistent tone of thinking, feeling, and acting?—Not by the contemporary daily press; even the best disposed and honestest portion of the public journals is influenced by the general impressions which pervade the great mass of its readers, and is swayed by an apprehension of losing its hold upon the popular mind. To that source of instruction we must, for the present at any rate, look in vain; ephemeral publications indeed derive their tone from the sentiments of the day, reflecting them in a more systematic and tangible form, but rarely, if ever, originating new theories, or hazarding the revival of doctrines and precepts overlooked, if not entirely forgotten, by those who content themselves with a rapid and cursory glance at the mere surface; overlooked, in a word, by the vast majority of persons who pretend or profess to read or think at all. But might we look to the legislature for this much to be desired developement? To the Lower House of Parliament, compounded of the most heterogeneous materials, papist and sectarian blended together in most extraordinary confusion, to that House where the utterance of a serious sentiment but too often produces the loud laugh, or the sarcastic sneer, where even truth itself but too commonly speaks in whispers, instead of proclaiming herself trumpet-tongued through its halls, vainly, indeed, might we look even for a partial developement of these great principles; while in the Upper House, adorned though it be with the appearance of the spiritual Peers, and in no trifling degree benefited and controlled by their counsel and presence, there is but too often a low and worldly view of the great matters submitted for deliberation; too much anxiety to learn and know what people will think, in the place of a firm, decided, and steady determination to act solely upon the immutable principles of right, without reference to the temporary and fleeting results of such determination; nor again is it to the saloon or banqueting hall we dare look for the developement of great principles, occupied as are the pleasure-seeking tenants of the abodes of gaiety with reflections,—if reflections we may venture to call them,—upon the most agreeable mode of spending the transient hour, or providing for its immediate successor; not there indeed will the home of sound truth be sought, or if sought,

will it be found :—music, revelry, and the dance consist not with deep, and painful, and anxious thoughts and reflections; their home is to be sought in a more serious, a more solemn resting place, an abode where worldly vanities have neither part nor portion,—and where is that place to seek?—The consecrated House of God: there where the taunt and gibe must at least be silenced and hushed, there where the voice of the preacher, of him who has received from the mitred descendant of the blessed Apostles his sacred and holy commission to teach and proclaim the Word of unerring Truth, there may mighty, and vast, and holy principles be proclaimed and expounded; laying, by the blessing of Providence, a foundation, whose superstructure may surpass and exceed man's thoughts and imaginings. And if in the House of God, where more becomingly or more fitly than in that University, within whose boundaries a Ridley kindled, with the fire that consumed his earthly body, a flame which now burns with a pure and steady light,—in that church within whose walls a Cranmer confessed with his latest breath the confession of a good martyr and soldier,—on that day when, unaided and unassisted by man's miserable and imperfect devices, Divine Providence discovered and discomfited the fearful conspiracy which the head and hand of Popery had imagined and well nigh perfected, and rescued from impending and apparently inevitable destruction our blessed Church and our anointed king.—Within then such boundaries, within moreover such walls, and on such a day, the Reverend Professor of that sacred language in which Moses taught and Isaiah prophesied, preached to a congregation distinguished alike for quantity and quality the excellent discourse, to a consideration of which, with a view to its future diligent and careful perusal and study, we now earnestly invite the attention of our readers.

Dr. Pusey's sermon is inscribed to Mr. Keble, in a dedication full of truth and feeling; and worthy indeed is that highly gifted and distinguished man of the homage so kindly and becomingly tendered: the dedication is followed by a most discreet preface, in which the *à priori* objections (if we may so term them) to the doctrines taught and contained in the sermon are encountered and refuted, not simply by argument, but by references to the opinions of doctors and confessors now, as we trust, asleep in the Lord, and to the canons of our Church as agreed upon in convocation. From that preface we cannot make an extract, its completeness requires an entire perusal. The text from which the sermon is preached is taken from Exodus, xiv. verse 13, "Fear ye not, stand still and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you to-day," introducing us to a beautiful summary of the scheme and scope of the Old Testament history, the lessons to be deduced, and the

shoals and quicksands to be avoided, reprehending charitably, but decidedly, the miserable error of the day, which attempts to reduce things divine to the nature of things human, instead of endeavouring to elevate man's thoughts from earth to heaven, proceeding in its course to exhibit the wonderful analogy between the condition of the Jewish and Christian Churches, affording thereby an admirable ground-work for the observations which the day more immediately and directly elicited. We must make an extract from this portion of the discourse.

"The light then of all history is God's guidance, dim indeed often, and overlaid by the intricacy of human policy and craftiness, yet still visible to those who, in the detail of the workmanship, forget not the Maker, nor allow themselves by the study of the visible creature to be held down from beholding the Invisible. Even in heathen empires He declares by his prophets, that '*He changeth the times and seasons: He removeth kings, and setteth up kings.*'\*" Even there, among those who seem to rule, He is the one Ruler. 'The Most High ruleth *in* the kingdom of men,'—(an unseen power *within* man's visible kingdom, permitting or withholding, uniting or dissolving, giving strength or bringing age upon them, and directing man's free agency, like the wild uproar of the sea, to his own ends, unseen by man His work, but ever present with and *within* His work,) 'the Most High ruleth *in* the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he will.'† Pharaoh, Cyrus, the Assyrian, the rod of his anger,‡ but 'who meant not so, neither did his heart think so,'§ Nebuchadnezzar, of whom God saith by Jeremiah 'I who made the earth, the man and the beast upon the ground,—and have given it unto whom it seemed good unto me, and now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant,—and all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of *his* land come, and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him.'||—These are but so many specimens, and instances of His universal empire, doing all that is good, and ordering what is evil, so 'that the wrath of man doth but praise Him.'"\*\*—p. 4.

A beautiful passage, commenting immediately upon the words of the text, but too long for quotation, carries us through the career of several of the servants of the Lord, who adorn the history of the Old Testament, showing, for our warning, wherein they failed, who trusted to their own fancied strength, either to a less extent, like Abraham and Moses, or, in a greater degree, like Jeroboam the son of Nebat, "who made Israel to sin;" or exhibiting for our instruction the triumph of the Saints who relied upon the assistance of Providence for succour and support, bearing and forbearing for His name's sake; and we are thence conducted to the saints and martyrs of our own Church, exhibited

\* Dan. ii. 21.

† Ibid. iv. 25.

‡ Isaiah, x. 5.

§ Isaiah, x. ver. 7.

|| Jeremiah, xxvii. 5—7.

\*\* Psalm lxxvi. 10.

in all the beauty, dignity, and loveliness of passive obedience and non-resistance, with a power of expression of which the diligent consideration of the passage itself can alone give any thing like an adequate conception; to transcribe, indeed, a portion would violate the completeness and unity of the whole. The preacher then proceeds to declare, that "it is for instruction only that we may ask, why God should so have annexed the blessing of conquest to enduring suffering, and made patience mightier than what men call active virtues."—p. 23. And various probable grounds for such annexation are assigned, the humility and reverential awe of the professor restraining him in two of the reasons adduced from stating them absolutely and unqualifiedly. Of these the former is, that "it may be that they have some mysterious connection with the sufferings of Christ, which pass our understanding."—p. 23. And the latter, that "it may be needful, in the wisdom of God for the perfecting of His saints."—p. 24. In a striking succession of passages, Dr. Pusey proceeds to exhibit further grounds for the intentions of the Most High in this particular: that "it is evident that so God's power and glory is most shown."—*ibid.* and this is traced in a passage of great beauty. Again, that "since man's self-will was the cause of his fall, when he would be wiser than God, and in his own way be as God, God would thus teach him to submit his own will, to renounce dependence upon himself, to quit his own wisdom and his own schemes, let every thing, if needs be, go out of course, and then, 'when the earth is weak and the inhabitants thereof,' it will appear that the Lord 'beareth up the pillars of it, and will say to the ungodly, Lift not up your horn, for God is the judge; He putteth down one, and setteth up another.'"<sup>\*</sup>—p. 26. The last reason put forth by the preacher is, that "there is room to fear lest, mingling in human schemes for her own security, the Church should leave her dependence upon God, and adopt insensibly the maxims of the world."—*ibid.* We regret that our limits will not allow us to quote the remainder of this passage,—to present to our readers the able exposure of the errors consequent upon this departure from, and neglect of, the example and precepts of God's holy word, which have pervaded, and still pervade, the unfortunate Church of Rome, and the misguided followers of Calvin;—but we trust our readers will diligently and carefully consider the passages to which we refer. We cannot, however, refrain from presenting the passage which has reference to our own Church; it is the concluding portion of this division of the sermon.

<sup>\*</sup> Ps. lxxv.

"It is not, God knoweth, in any spirit of boast against those branches, some of which were grafted in before us, but still in encouragement and warning, that I would notice, that herein also our Church followed the principles of the Church Catholic, and with her had her portion. She alone of all the Reformed Churches was purified in the fire, and purged by the blood of martyrs, and had the evidence of affliction that she was a beloved child and no bastard. And her general conduct has been true to her first principles, to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; to do nothing against the command of God, but to suffer every thing which the Cæsar may require. It was thus that the seven bishops mainly checked James's tyranny, refusing to do, but submitting to suffer, what was unlawful; it was thus that even in the Great Rebellion men cheerfully took the spoiling of their goods; it was thus that, in events familiar to us, the members of this place,\* at different periods, suffered what was unlawful, rather than compromise their principles;—and we cherish their memories."—p. 30.

The reverend preacher then proceeds to consider more particularly "the two events for which" the Fifth of November is observed "as an annual thanksgiving to God," and remarks that, "together," they "strikingly illustrate these principles. 1. That "we may safely leave things to God; 2. That there is great risk "that man, by any impatience of his, will mar the blessing which "God designs for his Church."—p. 31.

A sketch by a master's hand is then drawn of the progress and result of the Popish plot in England, and of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, mention being also made of the fearful atrocities committed in Ireland in 1641. We cannot make any extracts, the various portions of the description are so beautifully linked together, but we may remark that the different courses adopted in the three particulars strikingly enforce the words of the text, and confirm the words of the preacher, "That the history of the Old Testament is the Sun of all other history, Christian or profane." And we are led hence to the consideration of the second event for which the day in question is kept. "The arrival on" that "day of him who became William III." We regret we cannot give selections from this portion of the discourse, its very excellence and perfectness are obstacles in the extracting portion of the reviewer's path, but the lessons drawn from the second rebellion are fraught with the soundest and holiest instruction. The wretched paltering, which induces men to speak of the "glorious revolution," as if, forsooth, rebellion in any shape could ever be glorious, is exposed and refuted; while the touching and reverential allusion to the names of Ken and his illustrious compeers, and of the venerable Hough, awaken our liveliest sympathies, and arouse our best feelings. Things are called and styled by their right

\* In the times of the Great Rebellion and under James II.

names, the words of unanswerable truth shame and confute the miserable sophistry which loves to gloze over error and falsehood, and prefers consulting man's ignorance and self-will, to advancing doctrines which tend, by God's blessing, to make us truly wise. It is then well nigh impossible to exaggerate or over-estimate the solid and substantial advantages which must result from such a mode of treating such a subject;—but we must proceed in our review:—The conduct of our blessed Church, the practice of the early Church, the language of Holy Scripture, “which that Church well understood,” are contrasted with the precepts and lessons of those who justify and even glory in the second rebellion: and in a strain of holy eloquence, which demands strict and devout attention, the Reverend Professor proceeds thence to draw and deduce lessons, which, in these our days, are of vast and incalculable value and importance; we regret we cannot find room for them, but we may present our readers with the concluding passage of the sermon, which is one of peculiar profit and of extensive practical application.

“In brief, then, we may not be over-anxious even about Holy things, such as the deliverance of the Church from unjust thralldom or from spiritual disadvantages. God allowed His chosen people to lie in bondage 400 years, and not till the set time was come did he judge that power which enthralled them; and when afterwards He delivered them for their sins to Nebuchadnezzar, ‘they were to seek the peace of the city whither He had caused them to be carried captive, and after seventy years to be visited.’\* They ‘stood still’ till Cyrus came, they invited him not, helped him not, but he acknowledged that ‘their God, the King of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and given him in charge to build His temple at Jerusalem.’† God is visibly working, and preparing the army, which ‘shall be willing in the day of his power;’‡ But it is His day, His army, His power, and He must ‘give the word.’§ As of old the feet of the image were crumbling, the world was growing old, institutions were dissolving, but the people of God might not put a finger thereto, but ‘a stone cut out of the mountain *without hands* smote it and brake it in pieces;’ so must it be now whether it please God to breathe fresh life into the old institutions of the world, or whether ‘He take away his breath and they return to their dust,’ it must be His doing, not man's; what God doth, that is well done; we might mingle ‘hay, straw, and stubble’ with his work, which in the day of trial will not abide. ‘O tarry thou the Lord's leisure, be strong, and He shall comfort thy heart.’|| ‘Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.’¶ O Lord God of hosts, blessed is the man that putteth his trust in thee!’”\*\*\*—p. 56.

Thus then concludes this noble combination of piety, elo-

\* Jeremiah, xxix. 7, 10. † Ezra, i. 2. ‡ Ps. cx. 3. § Ps. lxxviii. 11.  
|| Ps. xxvii. 16. ¶ Hab. ii. 3. \*\*\* Ps. lxxxiv. 13.



quence, and learning; of which no line, no word, is without its corresponding counsel and instruction.—Our review of this admirable sermon has been necessarily brief and imperfect; if however we have succeeded in inviting the attention of one person, who has not hitherto met with it, to a diligent perusal, our labour will not have been in vain: We are indeed painfully aware that its doctrines and precepts are hard to be understood and received by the men of this day: their minds are attuned and adapted to different themes.—The rationalism of the passing hour abhors mysteries, however beautiful or sublime.—The rail-roadism (if we may be permitted the expression) of the nineteenth century repudiates that teaching which tends to crush and subdue men's pride, vanity, and conceit:—it loves to be told that human nature is all wise, all excellent, that to master the difficulties of science is man's noblest work, that utility should be the object of its vows and aspirations.

Now all these things are vastly agreeable to earthly self-esteem, and they are greedily and gladly adopted as the rules and maxims of men's instruction and conduct:—but obedience,—unlimited, unqualified obedience,—patience,—forbearing all-enduring patience, are rejected and disregarded, as things adapted to and fitted for the capacities of babes, but utterly unworthy of and unsuited to their intellectual and scientific progress and advancement,—nay, they would fain stigmatize them as novelties, simply and merely because they have never heard of them. They have not been taught that rebellion is a foul and horrible sin, and therefore the attempt to enforce and inculcate a due sense of its grievousness and enormity is an innovation;—an innovation upon their sense of right and wrong, their moral perceptions, their intellectual powers:—but the Bible,—Catholic antiquity,—the very writings of our own reformers, speak in plain language. David, the Crown Prince of Israel,—slew the Amalekite, who accused himself of having slain the Lord's anointed,—his royal predecessor Saul.—The Jews were enjoined the strictest obedience to Nabuchodnosor, under circumstances which need not now be dwelled upon.—The blessed Apostle St. Paul writes to the Roman converts, and bids them obey, for conscience sake, one of the worst princes whom Providence has, for wise and inscrutable purposes, appointed to rule over nations. The same Apostle treats with reverence the high priest who insulted and upbraided him, because he (the high priest) was the ruler of God's people.—St. Peter blends in the same sentence the exhortation to “fear God and honour the King.”—The blessed martyrs resisted not when resistance was in their power, but suffered without a murmur:—Our own homilies, our liturgy, the practice of our reformers are all suited to and framed after such

great and bright precedents, and shall we pretend to be wiser than these glorious examples?—Rome and Geneva have indeed grievously despised those blessed lessons; papal Rome taught the atrocious lesson (and if her claim of immutability be maintained must still teach it,)—that subjects were absolved from their allegiance to princes deposed or excommunicated by the Bishop of Rome, nay she even justifies their murder:—Protestant Geneva incurred the same guilt, when her miserable disciples first rebelled against, and then slew our royal martyr King Charles the First; and we will ask the advocates and champions of the (miscalled “glorious”) revolution of 1688—To what might they have been driven, had not James the Second departed from this kingdom?—Great indeed were the mercies of the King of kings!—Our course at any rate is plain, our way straight. To refuse to perform unlawful acts, but never to resist the powers which enjoin or command their performance:—thus it was that Sancroft, Ken, and Hough felt, thought and acted, and thus it is that men among us are, as we trust, by God’s blessing, prepared to act, should the Gallios of the day, whether they call themselves conservatives, or whether they are styled liberals, consent to, or enforce what Scripture, antiquity and the Catholic Church in England deprecate and forbid.—Let men write and speak evil of us, let party reproach, or faction upbraid us; we must bear and forbear: action is far more easy than endurance, the laurel wreath is less difficult of achievement than the crown of martyrdom.—Our part must be taken, our portion chosen with suffering and obedience, if we would wish or desire to seek His glory, to obey His word.—The result,—whatever may be our temporal position, our earthly lot,—is briefly but emphatically told in the beautiful words of the text, already quoted, but to be repeated and rehearsed, until graven in our memory of memories, our heart of hearts:—“Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will show to you to day.”

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ART. VIII.—*The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, comprising the Civil History of the Province of Ulster, from the Accession of James the First; with a Preliminary Sketch of the Progress of the Reformed Religion in Ireland during the Sixteenth Century, and an Appendix, consisting of Original Papers.* By James Seaton Reid, D. D., Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Carrickfergus, Vols. I. and II. London, Whittaker & Co. 1836.

AN ecclesiastical history of Ireland, founded on enlarged principles and written with learning and temper, is still much wanted, and would fill up an important space in our national annals. The imperfect notices and biographical fables which alone, prior to the tenth century, constitute our only means of information relative to the constitution, and more especially the doctrine and ritual of the Church in the Hibernian provinces, can no longer be held sufficient to meet the views of an inquisitive reader. It may be doubtful, indeed, whether Ireland itself has retained any authentic records of her more primitive times, entitled to a greater degree of credit than the traditions of her monasteries, and the lives of her saints; but there may be in the repositories of the Vatican, some registers or other deeds which might serve to throw light on the opinions and condition of the clergy, before the days of Henry II. The object contemplated by Dr. Reid does not comprehend such investigations. Presbyterianism, considered as the form of a Christian society, is a thing comparatively recent; for though the author, by means of spectacles, borrowed from sectarian writers, can discover among certain ancient monks the predominance of presbyterian principles, and, in the kingdom at large, a polity which assigned to bishops the charge of only one parish, we are, nevertheless, compelled to class his powers of vision with such as perceive most in the dark, and hence confound things that are not with those that are.

We are indebted to Archbishop Usher for the best account that has come down to us of the "Religion professed by the ancient Irish." It may, indeed, be admitted that the position which he occupied with respect to the Romanists, and the controversial spirit of the times in which he lived, from the influence of which the most vigorous minds were not altogether free, have in some places affected the bearing of his argument, or, at all events, determined the selection of his authorities. But Usher was too sincere in his love of truth to allow himself to deviate from the duties of an historian, or to sink the high character of the divine in the paltry triumph of the disputant. He calls our attention to the remark of St. Chrysos-

tom, who said "although thou wert to go to the ocean, and to the remote British isles, although thou wert to sail to the Euxine sea, or to the farthest regions of the south, yet shouldest thou hear all men reasoning on the Scriptures, in different languages indeed, but with one belief, in a variety of dialects, but with the same judgment." Bede also boasted that, in his own days, the inhabitants of Britain, in five several tongues, did search into the elements of eternal truth, and the most exalted philosophy, confessing the same faith though with a diversified utterance. The languages here mentioned belonged to the Angles, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins. "For as by us now, so by our forefathers then," says the archbishop, "the continual meditation of the Scriptures was held to give special vigour and vegetation to the soul; and the holy sentiments delivered therein were esteemed by Christians as their chief riches."

*"Sint tibi divitiæ, divince dogmata legis."*

Perhaps, in some instances, the patriotic zeal of the learned metropolitan may have led him to confound the rhetorical flourishes of an ancient father with such literal statements as might be embodied in a modern census. Hence his inference, that the Irish, in the fifth and sixth centuries, had a care, from their very childhood, to learn the Holy Scriptures, and that in those days it was not thought a thing unfit that even children should give themselves unto the study of the Bible, cannot be rendered quite consistent with the fact, that the version of the sacred writings then commonly used was in Latin. But it is, at the same time, perfectly manifest, that the study of theology was much encouraged among the learned, and also that the more recondite investigations of Biblical criticism had attained a considerable degree of perfection. The commentaries of Sedulius would do honour to an improved age; while the piety of Bishop Aidan affords the most pleasing kind of evidence that the doctrines of Christianity were not studied in vain by members of the Church.

There prevails among all presbyterian writers the singular but very groundless fancy, that the polity of the Christian commonwealth in those early days was anti-episcopal. An observation by Bede, not well understood, has been employed, in a variety of controversial works, with the view of proving that the highest order of clergymen was either not recognized among the Irish and Scots, or deprived of the authority which usually attaches to their function. It is maintained that these people, in old times, differed exceedingly from the Roman church, in doctrine, discipline, and church government; that before the middle of the tenth century they had no bishops, but that their church was governed

by presbyters, and religious monks called Culdees, who were no friends to bishops, and kept themselves pure from all innovations and corruptions of the church of Rome, and were at perpetual variance with the Romish clergy. From these premises it is made to follow, that the supposed successors of those men, "have the sole right to possess all churches, church-lands, and benefices, because they are the restorers of the Christian religion as anciently professed in this kingdom, for that bishops are only intruders amongst us, innovators, and schismatics; on which account they were justly pillaged and set aside at the time of the Reformation, and deposed at the beginning of the Grand Rebellion."

The Scots, mentioned in all chronicles and deeds prior to the tenth century, were unquestionably natives of the Greater Scotia or Ireland; for which reason Dr. Reid is justly entitled to apply all conclusions respecting their ancient church to the history of his own country. The celebrated Culdees of Iona are acknowledged by every author, competent to form an opinion on the subject, to have been monks of Hibernian extraction; and hence it may be plausibly inferred, that whatever were their notions on ecclesiastical polity, similar opinions must have prevailed in the land whence they migrated. It may be premised, however, that from all we know concerning the doctrines and usages of the followers of Columba, no fair inference can be drawn which will bear with any perceptible weight on the question of church government. Every reader is aware, that Blondell, Selden, Baxter, and other non-conformists, in both divisions of the kingdom, imagined that they could discover in the scheme of administration said to have been adopted by the Abbot of Iona, a warrant, or at least some degree of countenance, for the system of ecclesiastical rule to which themselves were attached. On the other hand, Usher, Stillingfleet, and Lloyd, bishop of Worcester, endeavoured, in their several works, to expose the futility of conclusions founded neither on established facts nor authentic records, but on the fictions of authors the earliest of whom did not exist till more than a thousand years after the period to which the most important part of his narrative refers. No one of them, in short, appears to have had any groundwork for his details except the uncertain traditions of his age, and no check on his statements beyond the dreams of his credulous contemporaries.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that the term Culdee was applied generally to the order of religious men who, in the beginning of the fifth century, appear to have introduced in the remotest parts of Britain and Ireland the obligations of celibacy and retirement from the world; and as the expression meant no more than that

the individuals in relation to whom it was used had devoted themselves to the service of God, and taken up their abode in cells, it is obvious that no conclusion can be drawn from it respecting the peculiar nature of their rule or institution. They were, as far as antiquaries can discover, the first order of monks that settled in the British isles; and wherever the Celtic language was used, the name of Culdee was given to every one who, relinquishing the temporal pursuits of life, joined the holy brotherhood for the purposes of fasting, meditation, and prayer.

Nor will any one question the probability that, as the Irish and Scots were taught by missionaries from Rome, of whom the chief were Ninian, Palladius, and St. Patrick, there would be the most entire unanimity among the converts, in that illiterate and uninquiring age, respecting the things they were desired to believe, and the usages they were commanded to observe. Besides, in Ireland, whence Columba had his origin, every thing ecclesiastical is understood to have been established on the Romish model; and there cannot be any good reason for believing that he had adopted any other rule, with regard to faith and discipline, than that which was held by his countrymen at large.

But the ritual of those monks, and their mode of celebrating divine worship, are matters of inferior import when compared with the scheme of a church polity of which they are supposed to have afforded an example. When it is considered that the Culdees first present themselves to our notice on the page of authentic history in the attitude of maintaining their right to elect the bishops in the several sees where they had their convents, it must appear surprising that their practice as churchmen should ever have been adduced as an argument against the antiquity of episcopal government. That inference, it is true, seems to be strengthened by a remark found in the volumes of the Venerable Bede, that the monastery of Iona had for its governor a Presbyter-Abbot, to whose authority, by an unwonted constitution, the whole province, and also the bishops themselves, were bound to be subject, after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk. It is mentioned, too, in the words of the same historian, that, when Oswald, king of Northumberland, sent to Iona for a bishop to instruct his people in the doctrines of Christianity, the council of seniors or presbyters elected Aidan, one of their own number, who was esteemed worthy of the episcopate, and having ordained him, sent him forth to preach. From this statement, interpreted on the foot of the letter, and without any reference to the practice of other monasteries at the same period, Dr. Reid derives the opinion, that

Aidan, the first bishop of Northumbria, under the Saxon dynasty, must have received presbyterial ordination.

Viewed on the narrow ground now described, the conclusion no doubt has a plausible aspect. Still the least reflecting reader must be disposed to inquire why the monks of Iona should have given the name of *bishop* to the brother whom they elected and sent forth; and why they should have gone through the form of declaring him worthy of the *episcopate*. It is manifest, even from the tenor of the narrative, that the words bishop and presbyter did not in those days mean the same thing; and, moreover, that the learned historian was not ignorant of the distinction implied in these terms. How, then, upon the principles which Bede is supposed to recognize, could it be said that a college of presbyters at once elected and consecrated one of their own body a bishop?

There is only one way of restoring consistency to the narrative, and of explaining at the same time the occurrence recorded by the annalist, which is, to conclude that the bishop attached to the monastery, and who in certain respects was subordinate to the abbot, was employed to consecrate or ordain the episcopal missionaries who were sent into the dominions of Oswald. This is the view which Lloyd, and most other writers on the same side, have adopted; and, in our estimation, it may be supported with such a degree of evidence as will satisfy all who have not determined to sacrifice truth to the interests of a particular system.

We find, in the first place, that it was customary in other parts of the Christian world, at the very period, too, when the Columban establishment was in its greatest prosperity, to have bishops either actually in monasteries or specially attached to them for the avowed purpose of performing those official duties to which clergymen of a lower order were not held competent, and, in particular, the duty of ordaining young men, when duly qualified, to the service of the holy ministry. In the early times of the Church, monastic establishments were at once the schools and the colleges in which the clergy received their education; and as religion and learning were thought to be very much advanced by the discipline of convents, the monks were greatly encouraged. So numerous and important, indeed, were the privileges allowed to them by the indulgence of the age, that they were, in a manner, wholly free from episcopal jurisdiction. In some monasteries of the western Church, they were for a while so entirely exempted, that the bishop in whose diocese they were had no control over them, and had no right to enter their gates except when they were pleased to solicit his assistance. In the African establishments, about the year 500, the inmates might choose what bishop they pleased in

the whole province, to ordain and perform other episcopal acts. It appears that whomsoever they selected for these ends, they were bound to him as long as he lived; but at his death they might employ either his successor or any one else, for they pleaded that they were not under any bishop out of duty, but of choice, except the Archbishop of Carthage, who was their primate. At a later period they were confined to the bishop of the diocese, so that he, and no other, was entitled to ordain, confirm, and consecrate new oratories.

It was determined by the authority of regular councils, in France and Spain, that none should be ordained in any monastery except by the bishop in whose diocese it was situated; but still such a solemnity could not be performed without the desire, or, at least, the consent of the abbot. We find, besides, that in the greater monasteries there was a resident bishop, elected by the abbots and monks, and consecrated by the comprovincial prelates, for the very purpose of doing episcopal offices when necessary. Of this kind, says Lloyd, we have examples at St. Martin's, near Tours, and in the monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, which had such bishops in them from ancient times; and we have an account of their successions for some ages. The like, remarks Usher, we have of the bishops that were in St. Columba's monastery at Iona, of whom there is mention in the *Ulster Annals*.\*

These facts prove incontestibly that the ordinations in monasteries were performed by bishops, either belonging to those establishments themselves, or chosen by the abbots, with the view to such sacred offices. It is proved that councils were held to fix the relations which subsisted between the bishops and the monasteries in which they were invited to act. The superior and his monks, who, it is obvious, were the best judges of the character and acquirements of those under their care, pointed out, from time to time, the persons who were to be ordained; and then, the bishop, whose services were appropriated to the particular convent, proceeded to the act of ordination, and gave to the several candidates for the diaconate or priesthood, as it might happen, authority to minister in the Church of Christ.

With regard to the ancient Irish—the subject more properly before us—we may use the words of the Bishop of Worcester, who remarks, “Our adversaries would have it that the abbot and his senior monks did ordain those who were sent out of their monastery, and that not only into the lower orders, but into the order of bishops, as they show us in the example of Aidan and

\* *History of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland when they first received the Christian Religion.* By William Lloyd, D.D., Bishop of Worcester, p. 163. Usher, *De Primord.* p. 701.



“his successors. But this is so far from being true that I dare challenge our adversaries to show any instance when the abbots and monks, without a bishop among them, ordained so much as one single Presbyter. I shall show, on the contrary, by many instances, that it was necessary to have orders conferred in the monasteries, (without which there could be no administration of sacraments,) so bishops were held necessary on this very account, that they might confer orders on those that were judged fit to be ordained in the monasteries.”

But it is clear, from the conduct of the missionaries sent into Northumberland, that they were invested with the office of a bishop, even in the sense in which that word is usually understood in our own times. Bede says, “Aidan was sent forth from Hy, or Iona, to convert the Angles, having received the episcopate; that he chose the place of his episcopal see in the Isle of Lindisfarne; that there he was with his clergy; and there was the abbot and his monks, who all belonged to the care of the bishop.” For his clergy he had divers persons who came with him from Iona, of whom one was called *presbyter suus*, and one or two *clerici sui*, in King Alfred’s translation. Besides these there were many Presbyters who came out of Ireland, who preached and baptized; and so churches were built in many places throughout his diocese. He was, moreover, on a friendly footing with the prelates who had been sent from Rome; he was even, continues Bede, “deservedly beloved by them, and held in veneration by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of the East Angles; and accordingly after his death he was accounted a Saint by them of the Romish communion.”

Aidan was succeeded in the episcopal duties by Finan, who, we are informed by the monk of Wearmouth, having baptized Peada, the King of the Middle Angles, with all his court, he gave him four priests, one Scotch, and three English, to instruct and baptize his people. At a subsequent period, Sigebert, King of the East Angles, with his friends, was baptized by the same bishop, and received at the same time two priests to extend the Gospel among his people. One of these priests, whose name was Cedd, having, with the assistance of his colleague, gathered together a great Church to the Lord, returned to the Bishop at Lindisfarne to inform him of their remarkable success in the work of evangelizing the Saxons; and with this account Finan was so much gratified that, to enable him to prosecute his pious objects with still greater advantage, he resolved to raise him to the episcopal order. Seeing his success, remarks Bede, in the furtherance of the Gospel, and having called to him two other bishops for the ministry of ordination, he made him bishop over the nation of the East Angles.

The historian adds, that Cedd, having received the degree of the episcopate, returned to the province, and with greater authority fulfilled the work which he had begun, erected churches in different places, ordained presbyters and deacons, who might assist him in the word of faith and ministry of baptism.\*

We have followed out these details with the view of supplying a satisfactory answer to the remark of Dr. Reid, that the "presbyterial order of the Culdees," joined to several points of doctrine and discipline in the ancient Irish Church, clearly indicates its opposition to the papal system. True it is, that the pope did not, without much difficulty, succeed in establishing his authority, as universal bishop, among the old British and Celtic communities. Not only did they question his right to such dominion, they also resisted the encroachment of his agents, even when armed with the secular power. Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, being remote from the centre of that influence which was established in Kent by Augustin, the Romish missionary, despised the mandates and repelled the overtures employed with the view of claiming their obedience and securing their submission. But in respect to the constitution of their several Churches, and the tenets which composed their creeds, they differed not in any essential point from the Italian ecclesiastics.

It is true that the precise computation, according to which the festival of Easter ought to be kept, was not yet fully determined in all parts of the British isles; the use of chrism in baptism was not everywhere observed; the celibacy of the clergy was seriously questioned, as well on the ground of apostolical authority as on that of discipline; and a violent schism prevailed among the indigenous priests, as to the true form of the tonsure, or shaving of the head, in the use of which they were disposed to claim an unbounded freedom. The ceremony of marriage, too, among the laity, the practice of auricular confession, and the interesting rite of confirmation, had fallen into a very general neglect among the Irish, whom one of their prelates in the twelfth century described as no better than "brute beasts."

In a word, it will appear to every unbiassed inquirer altogether beyond the reach of controversy, that the ancient Hibernians maintained the divine origin of diocesan episcopacy; that they believed in purgatory, whence, they thought, souls might be delivered before the day of judgment by the prayers and fastings of the living; that they practised, though not without occasional interruption, the duty of private confession; that they showed a veneration for relics, and imagined that miracles were performed

\* Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 21.

by means of them ; that they consecrated Churches, and for this end used holy water, by which they believed that diseases might also be cured ; that they observed Lent and all the Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year ; that they used the sign of the cross, attributed much value to a bishop's blessing, had monasteries, and paid the utmost respect to monks. Finally, they bowed the knee when they entered a consecrated place of worship, made use of holy oil for various purposes, followed unwritten traditions, and performed divine worship according to the forms of a liturgy.

No attempt, therefore, can be more hopeless than to establish by historical proof that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were Presbyterians, or that their opinions on Christian doctrine and usage were different from those of the western Church at large, during the same period. In a recent history of Ireland it is remarked, that "an attempt has been made, enforced by the learning of the admirable Usher, to prove that the Church founded by St. Patrick in Ireland held itself independent of Rome, and on most of the leading points of Christian doctrines professed the opinions maintained at present by Protestants. But rarely, even in the warfare of religious controversy, has there been hazarded an assertion so little grounded upon fact. In addition to the original link formed with Rome, from her having appointed the first Irish missionaries, we find, in a canon of one of the earliest synods held in Ireland, a clear acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Roman see. Nor was this recognition confined merely to words ; as on the very first serious occasion of controversy which presented itself—the dispute relative to the time of celebrating Easter—it was resolved, conformably to the words of the canon, that 'the question should be referred to the head of cities ;' and a deputation being accordingly despatched to Rome for the purpose, the Roman practice on this point was ascertained and adopted."\*

Respecting the nature of the religious doctrines and observances taught by the earliest Christian preachers in Ireland, we have, says the same author, both in the accounts of their devotional practices and in their writings the most satisfactory as well as ample information. "That they celebrated mass under the ancient traditional names of the Holy Mysteries of the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of Salvation, and the Immolation of the Host, is admitted by Usher himself. But he might have found language even still stronger employed by them to express the mystery their faith acknowledged in that rite. The ancient practice of offering up prayers for the dead, and the belief of a middle

\* Moore's History of Ireland, vol. 1, p. 237.

“ state of existence, after this life, upon which that practice is  
 “ founded, formed also parts of their creed ; though of the loca-  
 “ lity of the purgatorial fire, their notions were, like those of the  
 “ ancient fathers, vague and undefined. The only point, indeed,  
 “ either of doctrine or discipline—and under this latter head alone  
 “ the exception falls—in which the least difference of any mo-  
 “ ment can be detected between the religion professed by the  
 “ first Irish Christians and that of the Catholics of the present  
 “ day, is with respect to the marriage of the clergy, which, as  
 “ appears from the same sources of evidence that have furnished  
 “ all the foregoing proofs, was, though certainly not approved of,  
 “ yet permitted and practised. Besides a number of incidental  
 “ proofs of this fact, the sixth canon of the Synod, attributed to  
 “ St. Patrick, enjoins that the ‘ clerk’s wife shall not walk out  
 “ without having her head veiled.’ ”

The conclusions now quoted may be, in some respects, too general, and perhaps not perfectly consistent with the evidence on which they are founded. But, at the same time, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that the Christians in the British Isles embraced the doctrines and adopted the usages of the body from which they had received the first principles of our holy faith ; and as there is in ecclesiastical history the most unimpeachable proof that the original form of the Church was episcopal, it follows that the clergy among the ancient Irish could be Presbyterians. Nennius, one of our oldest writers, narrates that at the beginning St. Patrick founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops, besides three thousand presbyters ; a notice which, though it may appear to have a hyperbolical air, precludes the notion that their constitution was anti-prelatical.

Dr. Reid, overlooking or despising the authority of ancient annals, maintains that it was not till the 12th century, when the island was transferred to the dominion of Henry the Second of England, that the Roman doctrines and usages were fully admitted into Ireland. Adrian IV., who at that period wore the tiara, is represented as conferring upon the English sovereign a grant of the whole kingdom, on the express condition of his reducing it to an unqualified subjection to the papal supremacy, as well as to an entire conformity with the practice of the Italian Church. At that epoch, and not before, he argues, “ all opposition to popish innovation was silenced ; the Irish Church was completely assimilated in doctrine and discipline to that of Rome ; every remaining trace of its primitive purity and independence was obliterated ; and after the lapse of a century, Ireland presented the same religious aspect as the other countries of western Europe.”

It is amusing to perceive to what extent a strong prepossession in the mind of an author leads him to pervert the clearest records. Mr. Moore sees every where unquestionable evidence that the power of Rome was established all over Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries, and that the rites approved by the successor of St. Peter were followed with the most dutiful submission in every church and monastery, from Dublin to the mouth of the Shannon. Dr. Reid, on the contrary, can perceive no evidence that the power of the Roman see, or the ceremonies which distinguish the Catholic worship, had obtained an assured footing in the provinces converted by St. Patrick until near the close of the twelfth age. The former, perhaps, sees more than a less partial writer could possibly discover in any authentic document now existing; the latter perceives nothing, because he has determined not to open his eyes, or rather, it may be presumed, to use the eyes of others whom prejudice had blinded. That the clergy of Ireland in the sixth century differed in some points of discipline and order from the clergy of the neighbouring churches, is plain from the disputes respecting the time of Easter and the form of the tonsure; but that they agreed in all essential points of doctrine is equally plain from the history of those very disputes, from the cordial reception of the Irish ecclesiastics in Gaul and Italy, and from the easy amalgamation of their rules with those of the continental monks.\*

The state of the Irish Church, however, both before and after the Conquest, was deplorable in the extreme. During the eighth and ninth centuries the country was exposed to the invasions of the Northmen, who directed their fury against the clergy, whose comparative wealth excited their avarice. On the return of tranquillity, the possessions, and even the buildings belonging to the sacred order, fell into the hands of laymen, who were more able to protect them; and in many instances were retained, according to the custom of tanistry, by the members of the same family for several generations. This was the fate even of the Church of Armagh, the residence of the metropolitan of Ireland. During the lapse of almost two centuries it was occupied by individuals of the same lineage, fifteen of whom succeeded to it without interruption. Of these only six were clergymen; the rest were lay chieftains who, though they did not presume to execute the episco-

\* Lingard, vol. ii. p. 357. "Though the moderns tell us that they did not admit the supremacy of the popes, no such information is contained in any ancient writer. From Bede we incidentally learn that on points of difficulty they were accustomed to consult the Roman Church (Hist. ii. 19), and to submit to its decisions (Hist. iii. 3). Cummin (he wrote in 630) in his letter to Segienus says that to obtain the judgment of the holy see, *misimus quos novimus sapientes esse, velut natos ad matrem*.

pal functions, enjoyed together with the title, the emoluments of the bishopric. It was to this prostitution of the archiepiscopal authority that Bernard attributed the want of canonical discipline among the clergy, and the prevalence of immorality and superstition among the people. To remedy such evils, the popes, for nearly a hundred years before the invasion, employed the zeal of foreign as well as of native legates; and Giraldus bears a willing testimony to the general character of the clergy with whom he had been acquainted. But while he praises their devotion, continency and personal virtues, he justly complains that, living in communities under the eye of their bishop and abbot, they confined themselves to the practice of the monastic profession and neglected the principal office of clergymen, the duty of instructing the ignorance and reproving the vices of the people.\*

The conquest by Henry II. did not improve the condition of the great body of the inhabitants. The jealousy of the English court, who wished to exterminate the native tongue, prevented those means of improvement which the government of a people comparatively enlightened could not otherwise have failed to supply. The benefits of the art of printing were not extended to the Irish language till after the Reformation. We need not therefore be surprised that

“The spirit of religious inquiry did not display itself in Ireland so early as in either of the sister kingdoms. The turbulent and distracted state of the island, its limited commercial intercourse with the more civilized countries of Europe, and its want of colleges and schools, were all extremely unfavourable to the introduction of new ideas in science or religion. The ancient faith, consecrated by time and defended by power, maintained an unquestioned sway over the minds of the ignorant and credulous natives; while the English settlers of the same faith, being chiefly intent on extending their conquests, were equally indisposed to indulge in controversy. A profound silence, therefore, on the subject of religion, universally prevailed. While the most important controversies were everywhere agitating the Romish church to its centre, Ireland alone of all the states of Europe, was involved in the stillness of death. Here, there were no external circumstances to provoke or cherish a spirit of inquiry. There was no political opposition to the temporal encroachments of the Pope to pave the way as in Britain, France and Germany, for overturning his spiritual domination. There were no extraordinary exactions to rouse the indignation of the people, long habituated to the most grievous oppression. There were no educated nobles to encourage inquiry, or patronize opposition to the ambitious claims of the priesthood. Nor were there any poets to expose the vices of the clergy, and, by the powerful aid of ridicule and satire, to open the eyes of men to their venality and corruption. We accordingly find not

\* Girald. p. 745, quoted by Lingard.

here any of those precursors of the Reformation, discernible in the suppression of books and the punishment of heretics, in the increased vigilance of the priests and enactments against free inquiry, which, in other countries, both indicated and hastened the progress of the truth."—Vol. 1. p. 19.

In a word, it has all along been the great misfortune of Ireland to have had institutions forced upon her, before she was prepared for them. Attached to England as a dependency, but not fully united as an integral portion of the British empire, she usually pulled in a direction contrary to that of the general movement. The principles of the Reformation were not asked by the Irish, but pressed upon them; and as they were offered by a hand whose benefactions had in most cases been urged by the terror of the sword, it cannot be surprising that they were not gratefully accepted.

The first protestant prelate was George Brown, who was consecrated archbishop of Dublin in the month of March 1535. Charged with the royal commission he hastened to his diocese; and in a conference with the principal clergy and nobility of the kingdom, laid before them his instructions and required them to acknowledge his majesty's supremacy. This proposal met with the prompt and decided opposition of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who defended with vigour the supremacy of the Pope, and concluded by pronouncing a curse on all who should dare to own the heretical monarch as head of the Church. But a parliament, which met the following year, realized all the wishes of the monarch, so far as such objects could be accomplished by legislative enactments. In the small portion of the island where English power predominated, public opposition was silenced in the midst of great secret discontent; while throughout the greater part of the kingdom, the adherents of the Romish church became at once more zealous and more devoted to her cause.

The archbishop found it more easy to purify his cathedral from images and relics than to remove from the minds of the clergy their attachment to ancient tenets and usages. In a letter to Lord Cromwell he says, "This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Roman orders; and as for their secular orders they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue." On another occasion he repeats, "The people of this land be zealous, yet blind and unknowing, most of the clergy being ignorant, and not being able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy, as not being skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in

“ this country. The Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin took off the common people from the true worship ; but the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain that they heed not my words. Therefore send in your lordship’s next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be that the chief governors may assist me in it.”

In such circumstances no success could be expected, and no serious effort was made to attain it. The seed was thrown on the highway or the rock, and was either trodden down or withered away. There was no leaven in the lump to excite the slightest fermentation, and of course, it remained unchanged. The great body of the Irish people were not only quite unprepared for the meditated change, they were also strongly predisposed against it. The strong hand of power could indeed dissolve the monasteries and disperse the monks within the narrow compass of the English pale, but it could not prevent the growing attachment to a persecuted religion, nor hinder the formation of new convents in the less accessible parts of the country. It may therefore be asserted without fear of contradiction that the Reformation made no progress in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII.

The latter years of Edward VI. witnessed a slow advance towards improvement both in doctrine and worship ; but the accession of his sister Mary, while it discouraged the new professors, held out many strong inducements to the adherents of the older form to persevere in their opposition to what they naturally regarded as profane novelties. Under her sway the Roman Catholic religion was formally restored by parliament, and the supremacy of the Pope again every where acknowledged. The Protestants, being still few in number, were not annoyed by the dominant party ; a circumstance which may perhaps be explained by the fact, that the civil rulers, having been appointed during the preceding reign, had a feeling of tenderness for the reformed interest. We are indeed assured that measures were about to be adopted for introducing the pains and penalties which characterized the government of Mary in England, for,

“ In the month of October, 1558, Dr. Cole, Romish dean of St. Paul’s, was dispatched with a commission to the Lord Deputy Fitzwalter, authorizing him to proceed with vigour in the detection and punishment of Protestants within his jurisdiction. The dean having arrived at Chester, was waited on by the mayor, to whom he showed with exultation his commission, and boasted of the severities which it would be the means of inflicting on the heretics in Ireland. This intelligence alarmed his hostess, who had devout protestant friends concealed in Dublin. Watching her opportunity, she removed the commission out of the box in



which it was deposited, and substituted in its place a parcel of similar size. Cole, ignorant of this exchange, proceeded to Dublin, and having presented himself before the deputy and council, he explained at length the pious intention of the queen in support of the Church, and concluded with handing his box to the secretary that the commission might be formally read. But, to the dismay of the dean and the surprise of the council, instead of the commission, the box contained only a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs faced upwards. The deputy, probably not displeased that he was so unexpectedly freed from the invidious office of a persecutor, humorously replied, 'let us have a new commission, and in the meantime we will shuffle the cards.'''\*

No sooner had Elizabeth mounted the throne than the sanction of law was again withdrawn from the Papists and bestowed on their rivals. The Scriptures were soon afterwards distributed in Dublin, in an English translation, and thereby rendered available for instruction in righteousness, so far as the people were acquainted with that tongue. But with respect to the Prayer-Book, a rule, apparently very absurd, was enforced, namely, that where the minister, and of course, his hearers, did not understand English, the public service should be performed, not in the Irish language, understood by both parties, but in Latin, which was equally unknown to either. The reasons assigned for this singular arrangement, though they may have no weight in our days, were not altogether without foundation; for not only were the natives accustomed to Latin prayers, but their dialect, never having been used in literature, could not be expressed by means of the ordinary types. It has required all the ingenuity of modern times to reduce the Celtic to such a form of orthography as to enable even those who speak it to recognize its peculiar sounds when indicated by printed symbols. But there can be no doubt that the prevailing error on both sides was to enforce religion on the mere ground of authority, without enlightening the mind or directing the conscience: and the reproach implied in this mode of procedure falls more heavily on the Protestants, because they profess a higher respect for knowledge and for the lights of private judgment. It was, moreover, extremely unfortunate that the main points of contention were the "supremacy," and the images of saints. Had the former been left in abeyance, the greater part of the clergy, in the civilized parts, would have conformed to the new shades of doctrine; and had the latter been allowed to remain undisturbed, the mass of the people would have continued to frequent the churches, unconscious, at the first, of any change. In short, the citadel was assaulted, in both cases, without the

\* This anecdote is given on the authority of the Hist. Collections of the Church in Ireland; but the truth of it is doubted by Leland.

precaution of regular advances, or the means of securing a safe retreat.

The Earl of Sussex, whom the queen had appointed deputy, though he perceived the reluctance with which the ecclesiastical changes were admitted, found himself obliged to summon a general meeting of the clergy, in order to tender to them the new oath of supremacy. As most of the bishops had been merely conformists to Popery, only two of them refused to comply. One of these, Walsh of Meath, not only declined to take the oath, but attacked with violence the Book of Common Prayer, warning his clergy and people against the use of it. For this contumacy he was deprived and cast into prison. Leverous of Kildare also rejected the oath, and defended his refusal principally on the ground of the sovereign's sex. Being asked why he scrupled at an obligation already taken by many learned and illustrious men, he replied that "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from Christ—that since he thought not fit to confer such authority on the Blessed Virgin his mother, it could not be believed that he would delegate supremacy to any other person of that sex—that St. Paul had forbidden any woman to speak in the Church, much less to preside and rule there—and that the same doctrine was maintained by Chrysostom and Tertullian."

It is not easy to penetrate the cloud which hangs over the Church of Ireland during the latter years of Elizabeth, the Reformation appears to have made progress in the towns and places of trade, but in the rural parts the new system was opposed, neglected, or altogether unknown. Several Protestant prelates were murdered from time to time, and among them the bishop of Ossory, who was on the eve of publishing a translation of the New Testament in the native language. The evils which are now felt and deplored were then begun. Every lord-lieutenant had his eyes opened to the miserable state of the country; every one suggested remedies; and at this day the same causes of derangement are at work, and the same melancholy effects are produced. Lord Bacon and the author of the *Fairy Queen* have both left their opinions on record; and it is worthy of notice that each recommended an increase of zeal on the part of the clergy, an enlargement of the means of knowledge, and greater facilities for intercourse with the lower classes. The former observes that these should go hand in hand with civil reformation, "some course of advancing religion indeed, where the people are capable thereof as the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous preachers and not scholastic to be resident in principal towns; endowing them with some stipend out of her majesty's revenues, as her majesty hath mos

“ religiously and graciously done in Lancashire; and the recon-  
“ tinuing and replenishing the college begun in Dublin; the  
“ placing of good men to be bishops in the sees there, and the  
“ taking care of the versions of Bibles, and catechisms, and other  
“ books of instruction into the Irish language; and the like reli-  
“ gious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding  
“ of scandal and unsatisfaction here by the show of toleration of  
“ religion in some parts there.”

Dr. Reid quotes from a volume of public records in Ireland a communication by a bishop of Ferns in the year 1612, which proves that the state of the country then was not much different from what it is at the present moment. “ As for the poorer sort, some  
“ of them have not only discovered unto me privately their dislike  
“ of popery and the mass, in regard they understand not what is  
“ done or said therein, but also ground under the burden of the  
“ many priests in respect of the double tithes and offerings, the  
“ one paid by them unto us, and the other unto them. Being  
“ then demanded of me why they did not forsake the mass and  
“ come to our Church, their answer hath been (which I know to  
“ be true in some) that if they should be of our religion no popish  
“ merchant would employ them being sailors, no popish landlord  
“ would let them any lands being husbandmen, nor let them  
“ houses in tenantry being artificers; and therefore they must  
“ either starve or do as they do. As for the gentlemen and those  
“ of the richer sort, I have always found them very obstinate,  
“ which hath proceeded from the priests resorting unto their  
“ houses and company, and continual hammering of them upon  
“ their superstitious anvil.”

The presbyterian Church in Ireland had its origin in the reign of James the First. The several rebellions under Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and O'Dogherty, led to extensive forfeitures in the northern provinces; and hence, soon after his accession, the king found at his disposal nearly six entire counties. To establish the peace and prosperity of this portion of the island, he resolved to plant it with settlers from England and Scotland; who carrying thither their reformed principles and industrious habits, would, he expected, at once improve the value of the lands, and disseminate the seeds of Gospel truth. In 1610 this scheme was found to have made considerable progress. Owing to the vicinity of Scotland, as well as to the enterprising character of its inhabitants, the principal part of the settlers in Ulster came from that kingdom. The north-eastern section of the province was first occupied by them, whence they gradually spread themselves over the remoter districts; and the south-western division was chiefly planted by the English, between whom and their neighbours there

existed the most friendly feelings. The decayed cities were now replenished with inhabitants; the lands were cleared from the encumbrance of superabundant wood; towns were built and incorporated; and in every quarter ample evidence was afforded of the peaceableness and industry of the new residents. It is said that the king had a "natural love to have Ireland planted with " Scots, as being, beside their loyalty, of a middle temper between the English tender and the Irish rude breeding;" and it is added that the marshiness and fogginess of this island was still "found unwholesome to English bodies, more tenderly bred and " in a better air."

The author favours his readers with an account of the settlement, in the county Down, of the Hamiltons and Montgomerys from Scotland, for which, we should think, these distinguished families will not be particularly grateful. In return for their interest with the king, whereby they saved Con O'Neill's life, they ungenerously robbed the unfortunate Irishman of two-thirds of his estate. To use the words of the original author, "Con has his " life, and a third part, Montgomery has a third part, and Mr. James " Hamilton has a third part. They are both made knights; but " the king's pleasure was that Montgomery should have the precedence, being not only a gentleman as the other was, but an " inheritor under him, and his vassal in Scotland. Besides, he " perceived that Hamilton, through the efficiency of wit and " friendship, had obtained the better share of the dividend. For " besides that in the patent he engrossed many more Church " lands, he was so wise as to take, at easy terms, *endless leases* of " much more of Con's third part, and from other despairing " Irishes, than Sir Hugh had done." These worthies, after plundering the oppressed natives, quarrelled between themselves; but they were nevertheless, according to Dr. Reid, "successful promoters of the Scottish plantation, and intimately connected " with the subsequent vicissitudes of the presbyterian Church in " Ulster."

The followers of these titled adventurers seem not to have occupied an enviable position in respect to character and moral qualities. "From Scotland," says a contemporary, "and from " England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both " nations, who from debt or breaking or fleeing from justice, or " seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's " justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, " of the fear of God. And in a few years there flocked such a " multitude of people from Scotland that these northern counties " of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, &c. were in a good measure " planted, which had been waste before. Yet most of the

“people were all void of godliness, who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy. Yet God followed them when they fled from him. Albeit at first it must be remembered that as they cared little for any Church, so God seemed to care as little for them. And verily at this time the whole body of this people seemed ripe for the manifestation, in a great degree, either of God’s judgments or mercy. For their carriage made them to be abhorred at home in their native land, insomuch that ‘going for Ireland’ was looked on as a miserable mark of a deplorable person. Yea it was turned into a proverb; and one of the worst expressions of disdain that could be invented was to tell a man that ‘Ireland would be his hinder end.’” “Although amongst those,” says another, “whom Divine Providence did send to Ireland there were many persons eminent for birth, education and parts, yet the most part were such as either poverty, scandalous lives, or, at the best, adventurers seeking of better accommodation, had forced thither; so that the security and thriving of religion was little seen to by those adventurers, and the preachers were generally of the same complexion with the people.” But, it is added, “while thus it was, and when any man would have expected nothing but God’s judgment to have followed this crew of sinners, behold the Lord visited them in admirable mercy, the like whereof had not been anywhere for many generations.”\*

The change here alluded to seems to have been effected by the energetic ministrations of an enthusiastic class of men who migrated from Scotland; justifying well the recommendation of Lord Bacon, who advised the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous and not scholastic. From the description of their character, as here given, we see little to praise in them, either with respect to sense or honesty. Nay, one of them, Glendinning, appears to have been positively mad. He had some sparkles of good inclination in him, yet was he found not solid, but weak, and not fitted for a public place.

“He was a man who never would have been chosen by a wise assembly of ministers, nor sent to begin a reformation in this land. For he was little better than distracted; yea, afterwards did actually become so. Yet this was the Lord’s choice to begin with him the admirable work of God; which I mention on purpose that all men may see how the glory is only the Lord’s in making a holy nation in this profane land, and that it was not by might nor by power, nor by man’s wisdom, but by my spirit saith the Lord. At Oldstone God made use of him to awaken the consciences of a lewd and secure people thereabouts. For

\* MS. history by the Rev. Andrew Stewart, minister of Donaghadee, 1645, and Life of Blair, both quoted by Dr. Reid.

seeing the great lewdness and ungodly sinfulness of the people, he preached to them nothing but law-wrath, and the terrors of God for sin. And in very deed for this only was he fitted, for hardly could he preach any other thing."

But this ardent preacher was not above those feelings of jealousy which cling so closely to poor human nature. For not being invited by his brethren "to bear a part in the monthly meeting, he became so emulous that, to preserve popular applause, he watched and fasted wonderfully. Afterwards he was smitten with a number of erroneous and enthusiastic opinions—and embracing one error after another, he set out at last on a visit to the seven Churches of Asia."

There is mention made of a deaf man "who would weep at sermons;" and by such signs those who were acquainted with him understood that he would express many things of the work of God upon his heart.

"As if to try the truth and reality of these changes of character, there were several persons in this and the adjoining parish, who were affected with violent breathings and convulsions, especially during public worship; and who considered these questionable symptoms as evidences of the work of the Spirit. But the prudence and discernment of Brice and Dunbar soon detected the imposition, and thus rescued the cause of religion from contempt and dishonour. When they conferred with these persons they did neither discover any sense of their sinful state nor any panting after a Saviour. Yet not content with this trial, the minister of the place wrote to his brethren inviting them to come and examine the matter, and when we came and had conferred with them, we perceived it to be a mere delusion and cheat of the Destroyer to slander and disgrace the work of the Lord."

In the history of religion, viewed in the light of its practical efficacy, there is nothing more perplexing than the source and true bearing of those excitements in the popular mind known by the term "revivals." In all parts of the world, and under all forms of Christianity, such occurrences have taken place. Wesley and Whitfield were often gratified with such proofs of their ministry; the Baptists have on record numerous triumphs of the same kind; the Independents, too, can glory in their success on similar grounds, and Ireland, Scotland, and America have from time to time presented the same phenomenon under a variety of aspects. The only circumstances common to them all are great ignorance and immorality on the part of the people, while the preachers are remarkable for a bold impressive oratory, forcible appeals to the conscience, and a fearful denunciation of the divine wrath. Nor is the result, generally speaking, less various than the means. On

many occasions a permanent improvement is wrought in principle and practice ; hardened sinners are converted from the error of their ways ; and the fierce habits of gross intemperance are succeeded by a sober and thoughtful life. But it cannot be denied, at the same time, that the effects produced by such causes are both ambiguous and temporary. The hypocrite advances to perpetrate his schemes of guile under a new cloak ; and the penitent, frightened for a moment from his sins, returns to them with greater avidity, and seeks a compensation for his short abstinence in a fuller and protracted indulgence. Again, as to the physical emotions, the groans, the sighs, and the convulsions which mark the progress of those changes, it would be unwise, if not blasphemous, to ascribe them to the benign Spirit of Grace, which worketh in the sincere Christian both to will and to do of the good pleasure of God. For example, under the madman Glendinning, already mentioned, some of the hearers fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience that "they looked upon themselves as altogether lost and damned." I have seen them myself stricken into a swoon "with the word ; yea, a dozen of them carried out of the doors as dead : so marvellous was the power of God smiting their hearts for sin condemning and killing."

If the spiritual melioration always corresponded to the bodily writhings, we should have less difficulty in determining the nature of the cause ; but when we find that the "violent breathings and convulsions" were sometimes nothing more than a "mere delusion and cheat of the destroyer," we are thrown into a painful course of reflection, and see not whither the clearest reasoning would lead us. At all events there is no doubt that such rousings from the sleep of sin are extremely beneficial, especially among a rude people, pressed down by the stupor of guilt and ignorance ; for, though some may again fold the hands and relapse into insensibility, a number will keep awake, and, by their improved conduct, supply at once a check and a good example. The vehement and zealous preacher, therefore, is in many situations much more useful than the grave and the didactic.

On the foundation now described was the Presbyterian Church in Ireland erected. The contemporary historians do not conceal that the mass of the people were "ignorant and profane," and had left Scotland "for debt, and want, and worse causes." But, though bad, they were improvable ; and the present state of the country they occupy, compared with the less fortunate portion of it still under the dominion of the old religion, proves that they must have carried with them the seeds of civilization and knowledge. The conduct of their ministers, at that early period, admits not of a defence on any ground so satisfactory and intelligible. They were Presby-

terians in principle and feeling, and had, for the most part, quitted their native land because they could not conform to the episcopal establishment, or had, in some way or other, exposed themselves to ecclesiastical censure. Yet they hesitated not, so soon as they had crossed the narrow sea which separates the British isles in the north; but they accepted preferment in a prelatical Church, drew their tithes from the parishioners, and even aspired to dignities. They submitted to be ordained by bishops, refused not a presentation from lay-patrons, and imitated the example of the English Puritans, who, while they enjoyed all the rank and endowments of the Church, laboured to introduce by stealth the peculiarities of their own discipline and worship. "They conformed just so far as would ensure their security and maintenance under the protection of the legal establishment. When succeeding prelates became more strict in exacting conformity, the clergy generally yielded, though with reluctance, the canonical obedience required of them before their superiors; but in the seclusion of their parishes they continued to observe the presbyterian forms, so congenial to the habits and prejudices of their people."

This dishonesty was connived at and encouraged by some weak bishops who gave the bread of the establishment to men who were constantly endeavouring to undermine it. Knox of Raphe was applied to for orders by a Mr. Livingston, who, on account of his opposition to prelacy in Scotland, had been silenced by archbishop Spottiswood. "Because it was needful," says he, "that I should be ordained to the ministry, and the bishop of Down in whose diocese Killinchy was, being a corrupt timorous man, and would require some engagement, therefore my Lord Clanabery sent some with me to Mr. Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphe. He told me he knew my errand, that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy, and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices: that if I scrupled to call him my lord, he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, was that I would preach at Ramalton the first sabbath, and that he would send for Mr. William Cunningham and two or three neighbouring ministers to be present, who, after sermon, should give me imposition of hands; but although they performed the work, he behoved to be present; and although he durst not answer it to the State, he gave me the book of ordination, and desired that any thing I scrupled at, I should draw a line over it on the margin, and that Mr. Cunningham should not read it. But I found it had been so marked by others before that I needed not mark any thing: so



“the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond any thing that I had thought or almost ever desired.”

In this way were men introduced into the Irish Church, whose consciences, though they scrupled not at tithes and dignities, nauseated the forms whereby they were qualified to enjoy them. When at a later period conformity was required, it was called persecution; and the easy latitudinarianism of such men as Knox proved not less injurious to the individuals he wished to favour, than to the Church he was bound to uphold. A fearful reaction commenced in the reign of the first Charles. The determined spirit of Wentworth was felt throughout Ulster, enforcing compliance with the canons, and ejecting from their livings those dishonest incumbents who had accepted preferment without any intention to fulfil the conditions upon which alone they could legally hold it. During the government of this unfortunate nobleman, the presbyterians were subjected to much inconvenience, and some share of positive suffering; nor was it till the parliament assumed a hostile attitude against the king, that they ventured to solicit a redress of grievances. The progress of the Grand Rebellion enabled them to collect their scattered ranks, and to establish on a new and more creditable foundation their favourite discipline as a presbyterian community. On the tenth of June, 1642, the “first regularly constituted presbytery held in Ireland,” met at Carickfergus, consisting of five ministers and four ruling elders. It should seem that several of the former were military chaplains; for each “produced his act of admission to his charge or regiment in virtue of which he sat as a member.” We are told, indeed, that the “first visible relief was by the Scottish army sent from Scotland against the Irish rebels—these generally consisting of officers who had no inclination towards religion except in so far as the times and state who employed them seemed to favour it; only their chief commander, Major-General Monroe, was no unfriend but a countenancer of these beginnings. However, the officers generally were profane, and the bulk of the soldiers, yea, haters of the purity and power of religion. There was no visible encouragement in the country for planting a ministry in congregations; for the inhabitants were but few, and these much oppressed and burdened through the maintaining of the army, which was much neglected at this time in their pay. Besides, there was a stock of old Conformist ministers in the country, who had for their own ends gone along with the Covenant, and yet returned to their former disposition. They were labouring to carry a faction in the army and country for their way, and had many to back them, especially men of most note both in the country and army, and in whose

“eye the little beginning of a presbytery was despicable, consisting at first only of a few in the army and two men planted in the country.”

It is manifest that but for the protection of the Scottish army, Presbyterianism would at this period have died out in Ireland, as the “men of most note” were by no means friendly to it. In the year 1644, when about sixteen thousand persons had signed the Solemn League and Covenant, there “were only two actual ministers in all those boundaries, being above fifty miles in length and twelve in breadth, who have joined themselves to our ministry, and adhere to our discipline in all things.” Nor did they prosper more under the iron rule of Cromwell. Baptists and Independents then enjoyed the favour of the state, and a large sum of money was lavished every year for their maintenance. The Presbyterian preachers were cast out of their charges, and pursued from place to place by the emissaries of the republican commander. “This,” says an old manuscript, “continued throughout the summer of 1651, at which time there was diligent search made anew for them. Some were taken, others fled; and those who were taken were imprisoned first, for a time, in Carickfergus; and thereafter Colonel Venables, not gaining any ground upon them, they were sent to Scotland; those remaining in the country and not apprehended were only about six or seven; and these were now put to greater difficulties than before, being more earnestly searched after in their houses; yet they continued preaching in remote or private places, where the people willingly met them.”

This pressure was gradually lightened after Cromwell had attained supreme power; and, during the period of tranquillity thereby afforded, the fugitive preachers returned to their stations. The restoration of the Church and monarchy under Charles the Second, renewed, in some degree, their apprehensions; and it was not till the accession of William and Mary that they were blessed with a full toleration. At the present moment, the Presbyterians in Ireland not only enjoy religious freedom, the birth-right of all Britons, but they are moreover encouraged by receiving a suitable income, about 13,000*l.*, from the public purse; and they are accordingly, as Dr. Reid expresses it, an endowed though not an established Church. As they were originally a description of pseudo-Episcopalians, they adopted, as their creed, the Articles of the Irish Church, formed under the auspices of Usher, which Dr. Neile, in his *History of the Puritans*, takes pains to show comprehended the substance of the celebrated Lambeth Articles. It need not be added that the founders of the Presbyterian community were decided Calvinists, and that the same views of Chris-

tianity were received and conscientiously maintained by their successors during the lapse of two or three generations. But as has happened in this country among the Dissenters, those high notions of doctrine are said to have gradually sunk down into a species of Arianism, frequently taught and sometimes even avowed by their ministers; a departure from the fundamental standards of their belief, which cannot fail to have excited the disgust and resentment of every true disciple of the Genevan school.

Viewed as a literary performance, this work has many faults, some of which are inseparable from its plan and object. The narrative, for instance, is constantly interrupted by long quotations from obscure authors, men of no name or authority, who seem to have chronicled their own impressions as events passed before them, and to have recorded such occurrences only as might prove most agreeable to readers of their own party. The facts preserved by such writers, though they may be substantially true, are seldom given in connection with their proper causes, or placed in an impartial light. But without laying much stress on this circumstance, every reader will join with us in the complaint that such extracts encumber and perplex the story; that they prevent all continuity of thought; and, in short, that instead of contemplating a beautiful figure cast by the hand of an experienced artist, we have only the material which should have been melted in the furnace and run out into a proper mould. Instead of a regular narrative, it is a collection of what the French would call *pièces justificatives*; a mass of compilation of which the greater part should have been thrown into an appendix.

Again, when estimated as the history of a religious body never incorporated with the state, these volumes will be found to contain too much discussion on civil affairs, and on the general interests of the several governments which succeeded each other during the troubled period which began in 1637 and ended in 1688. In abridging the annals of that eventful time, so ably exhibited by our standard writers, Dr. Reid could not expect to recompense the labour of his readers by the delights of a more elegant style or the revelation of important truths. He ought, therefore, to have passed them at a more rapid pace, and contented himself with a reference to works which are in every one's hands.

We have, perhaps, no right to blame the spirit of partizanship which pervades these volumes; for such a feeling, when not allowed to interfere with the integrity of records and the rules of just inference, ought not to be hastily condemned. But it may not be improper to remind the zealous author, while bewailing the intolerance of the prelates, and their aversion to ministers

who entered a Church which, at the moment they vowed to obey its rulers, they secretly abhorred and had resolved to undermine, that the Solemn League and Covenant he so warmly recommends, bound a small minority in Britain and Ireland to overthrow the religion of four-fifths of their countrymen. It is cruel and unchristian in any nation, even when the great body of it is unanimous in holding the same principles of ecclesiastical polity, to persecute the smallest portion of the remainder; but, assuredly, it can be neither wise nor charitable in that smallest portion to denounce the belief of all the rest, and to bind themselves before God to use all means for exterminating it.

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ART. IX.—*Charges of the Right Rev. the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Lincoln, in the year 1837.*

WHATEVER comes from the heads of these three great dioceses, must have a deep interest for the Churchmen of the empire; and, besides, these three charges are documents of importance on their own account. They all deal with stirring and solemn matter. We feel, however, that it is not for us to criticize these productions, or to make comparisons between their respective merits. While, indeed, too much value can hardly be attached to the regulating, checking, and controlling power of a sound and enlightened activity of public opinion, it may be with many a subject of regret to see a professedly ecclesiastical *press* erecting itself, more and more, into an arbiter of episcopal rule, setting bishop in opposition to bishop, and endeavouring to establish a new kind of *dynasty* in the Church of England. The end of these things may be disunion, disorder, and ultimate anarchy. And yet the subject is one on which it is far easier to dogmatize and censure, without sufficient examination, than to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, when it has been viewed deliberately, and in all its aspects. Without, therefore, affecting to pronounce judgment, we may be allowed to state two or three facts. It is an obvious fact, for instance, and one of which the mention is quite compatible with the sincerest respect for the several bishops, that a great *want of unity*, both in sentiment and action, not only exists, but is exhibited, in the episcopal bench. Let us take that *vexata quæstio*, the Ecclesiastical Commission. Some have imagined that it is calculated to occasion a soreness between the other orders of the Clergy, and the highest of all: but it is more to our purpose to remark, that, as far as we have seen, not one bishop, except those in the Commission, has expressed unequivocal satisfaction at the

arrangements proposed by the Commissioners. We leave the petitions and debates on the annexation of the bishopric of Sodor and Man to the See of Carlisle, to make their own impression. To the correspondence with the bishop of Ely, it would be painful to advert. But, as these published charges too clearly indicate, the bishop of Exeter, the bishop of Winchester, and even the bishop of Durham, are directly at variance, in a greater or less degree, with the bishop of London, the bishop of Lincoln, and the Bishop of Gloucester. It is not for us, we repeat, to say who is right or who is wrong ; but, surely, these manifest and overt differences are much to be deplored, as tending to impair that unity, and therefore that efficiency, at all times so desirable, and now so needful, in the action of the Church. Thus, the following specimen is the recent statement of the bishop of Winchester ; and we quote it without adding a single comment, and without entering upon the separate question which relates to his lordship's particular diocese. There is, he says, after some strictures on the Marriage and Registration laws,

“ There is one other topic, arising out of a recent legislative measure, fraught with interests of so serious a character, and involving principles so important and vital, that I cannot think myself justified in passing it by in so cursory a manner. I allude to the newly-created Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and Wales. You have a right to expect from me, on an occasion like the present, the frank expression of my opinion as to the constitution of the commission itself, invested, as it is, with powers which, at no distant period, will virtually control every other authority in the Church, as well as in respect of the particular measures already recommended in their reports, so far as they affect this diocese.

“ And, first, as to the constitution of the Board itself,

“ I object to it,

“ Because it exhibits the anomaly of a body corporate with perpetual succession, of which more than three-fourths are removable at the pleasure of the crown ; and, therefore, in fact, at the will of the government for the time being.

“ Because it presents the example of a board legislating in church affairs, composed partly of laymen, partly of ecclesiastics, the latter of whom are selected from a single order in the ministry ; in opposition, as I conceive, to primitive practice, and the principles and precedents of our own Church.

“ Because it arms that board with powers with which no commission ever has been, or can be safely intrusted ; and not consonant, in my apprehension, with the spirit of the English constitution in church or state.

“ Because it facilitates the enforcement of measures vitally affecting particular and general interests, at the fiat of individuals, without opportunity being given for public and popular discussion, and without the

concurrence—possibly without the cognizance—of the legally constituted and sworn guardians of rights and properties with which it is proposed to interfere.

“ And lastly, because, by its character of perpetuity, it presents at once a field for the agitation of successive inroads upon our ecclesiastical system, and provides a machinery for interminable changes; to the great disquietude of the ministers of the church, the distraction of their attention from their proper duties, and the inevitable unsettlement of men’s minds upon the most momentous questions.

“ Secondly,—With respect to the measures already recommended, as far as they affect this diocese.

“ The most important of these may be comprised under two heads—the organic change proposed in the capitular body, involving a new application of the major part of their property; and the projected alteration in the boundary of the diocese by the transfer of most of the parishes in the deanery of Southwark to the metropolitan diocese.

“ And, first, as regards the reduction of the establishment of the cathedral to a dean and four prebendaries, and the augmentation of poor benefices containing a large population, throughout the kingdom, out of the surplus of the original endowments.

“ I cannot subscribe to the opinion, entertained, as it should seem, by the commissioners, that the endowments of capitular bodies were intended for no other purpose than as a provision for daily services, and the maintenance of the fabrics of the cathedrals. This seems a very defective view of the case. It is unnecessary to enter here into any detail of the various services rendered to the church by the cathedral institutions. They have been set forth with great ability in the remonstrances addressed to the commissioners by many of the chapters themselves; and especially the argument in their favour as nurseries of theological learning, has been very eloquently enforced in the memorial which proceeded from my own cathedral. Suffice it to say that there are collateral benefits, neither few nor inconsiderable, which were not left out of sight, and are not to be discarded as foreign matters, because not expressly noticed by the founders. And if it be objected, that, in point of fact, the fruits derived from the cathedral system have not always been as abundant as it is capable of producing, the reply is obvious. Rectify the abuse, if abuse there be—make the institution in practice what it is in theory—recal it to its legitimate uses—exact from it all the efficiency of which it is susceptible—enlarge, if you will, its sphere—amend—but do not destroy.

“ On these grounds I cannot concur in the propriety of forcibly transferring property, originally granted for particular uses, to general ecclesiastical purposes.

“ But again, for what poor benefices should the assumed surplus be made available?

“ Is it right or reasonable to establish a common fund, and proceed upon a principle of re-distribution, without any regard to local appropriation? Is it right or reasonable that the produce of tithes or lands, destined by original donation to objects connected with one part of the country,

should be transferred to certain towns and villages in another district? Is it right or reasonable to augment from these funds any other benefices than those belonging to the cathedrals? or to debar the parishes whence the property is derived, from reaping themselves the first advantage by the assignment of an increase of income to their officiating ministers? Or is it judicious to scatter this supposed surplus income over the surface of many parishes, and to raise the benefice in none effectually from the scale in which it lies at present? For it is obvious that if a living be incompetent to maintain a minister with fifty pounds per annum, it will still continue to be insufficient for the same purpose, although augmented to double or treble the value.

"I might inquire, further, why not consider the circumstances of each cathedral and diocese? Might not a principle of annexation be advantageously substituted, in many instances, instead of reduction to a common level?"—p. 13—17.

Again, that other elements of division should be introduced, together with a larger infusion of an *Ecclesiastical* spirit pregnant with democracy and irregularity, is an awful prospect. And yet it is another obvious fact, that the mass of the Clergy—hundreds at least among them—are overflowing with a fulness of zeal, which seems to find no adequate outlet in any authorized or established channel which remains to them. They have, therefore, recourse to new forms of combination, new vents for their feelings, new organs for expressing their opinions. Some contribute anonymously to newspapers, some get up societies and public meetings, some clamour for the revival of Convocation. Yet the difficulties and inconveniences which must attend this latter course can scarcely escape any sagacious and reflecting Churchman, and the observations of the Bishop of Lincoln appear almost conclusive.

"When we look at the character of the measures which have actually received the sanction, as well as of those which have been proposed for the adoption of the Legislature; and when we further consider that among those who possess the power of legislating, not only respecting the temporalities, but also the internal discipline of the Established Church, are men who, far from feeling any solicitude for its well-being, scruple not to avow their hostility to it; some because they dissent from its doctrines, others because they object to all civil establishments of religion—when we reflect on these things, we cannot be surprised that the Clergy should look forward to the future with anxiety and disquietude; that feelings of distrust and suspicion should be excited in their minds, and that they should wish the power of legislating upon points so deeply affecting their interests to be taken out of the hands of those who regard them with no friendly eye, and entrusted exclusively to members of their own communion. Every other religious community regulates its own concerns. Why, then, should this privilege be denied to the Church of England alone?—Reasonable, however, as the wish appears to be, I must confess my inability to discover any mode of accomplishing it. The revival of

the Convocation, either in its present or in an improved form, would not effect the desired object. Its acts must be confirmed by the Legislature before they can obtain any legal validity; and their character may be entirely changed in their passage through the two Houses of Parliament. The Legislature, it is true, may, by a general enactment, confer upon the acts of Convocation the force of law; or declare that no measure relating to the Church shall be entertained, until it has received the sanction of Convocation. But is the state of public feeling at the present moment such as to encourage the hope that a proposal of this nature would be favourably received?—and might not objection be justly taken to it on the ground that it would produce that which has always been deemed the greatest anomaly in Government—*imperium in imperio*?”—pp. 25, 26.

His Lordship's whole Charge is admirably lucid and perspicuous: and while it is among our first wishes, that the highest authorities of the Church should, on some points, come to an expressed agreement among themselves, and also undertake the settlement of others, which are now agitated and almost ruled by unauthorized individuals, as if no Bishops were in existence;—while this is among our first wishes, lest internal mischiefs should arise, which now hardly seem to be anticipated or even suspected—we shall not venture to say more in our own humble capacity; but shall have recourse to another extract from the cogent and forcible address of the Bishop of Lincoln.

“That there is in the present position and in the future prospects of the Established Church much to create uneasiness and apprehension cannot be denied. Its enemies are numerous and active; and, however widely they may differ from each other, are ready at all times to forget their mutual differences for the purpose of combining to do it injury. Well would it be if its friends would in this respect imitate their example, and combine with equal unanimity for its support. If, however, there is much to create uneasiness, there is also much to cheer and encourage—much to inspire the humble confidence that God will still cause the light of his countenance to shine upon us, and dispel the clouds which seem to be gathering over our heads.—We see pious individuals coming forward, with a liberality of which the last three centuries have furnished few examples, to build and endow Churches, and to provide funds for rendering the means of religious instruction in some measure adequate to the wants of our increasing population. The very violence of the attack upon the Church seems, under the controul of a merciful Providence, destined to contribute to our safety. By disgusting some, who were at one time indifferent or even unfriendly to us, it has converted them into friends; while it has roused to active exertion others who, though friendly, had remained inactive, because they did not duly appreciate the magnitude and imminence of the danger. These proofs of affection, given at a moment when the Church stands in the greatest need of them, must be regarded by all, who believe the course of this



world to be ordered by the governance of God, as indications of his favour; as assurances that his support and protection will never be wanting to us so long as we are not wanting to ourselves: so long as each of us, in his vocation and ministry, zealously labours to promote the ends to which, be it always remembered, an Established Church is only a mean—the advancement of God's glory and the salvation of those committed to our charge."—pp. 28, 29.

We have only to subjoin, that the Charge of the Bishop of Durham, besides its value on other accounts, gives a most satisfactory account of that excellent and flourishing institution, the Durham University.

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ART. X.—1. *First Report of the Metropolis Churches Fund*, [up to] June 23, 1837.

2. *Society for Promoting the Employment of additional Curates in populous Places. Preliminary Paper.*

THE Bishop of London's plan for providing the metropolis with new churches, is one of those which characterize the age in which they spring up; in part originating in a feeling of the times, but, again, rising beyond the ordinary level of that feeling, and raising it, and forcing it on with it. It is something characteristic, and, as far as it goes, a good omen for our days, that such a plan has been entertained at all; at least, it is well remembered by many now living, how a predecessor in the see of London, a loved, benevolent, energetic, and, as far as the times permitted, influential Bishop, made the same appeal, preached it, urged it, yet obtained not one solitary church as a monument to embalm the memory of "his zeal for the house of his God." Bishop Porteus was influential with the great, and used his influence, it is well remembered how; regarding himself as the chief pastor of his Diocese, he applied to individuals of eminent rank, who, by their Sunday parties, set the example of profaning the Lord's Day, and in two instances out of three, in that generation, prevailed. Yet, although influential, and, as this instance implies, fearless in using that influence, and courting no man's person, he was not permitted to lay a single stone of the temple of the Lord. The nation was absorbed in the prosecution of the continental war, a righteous war against infidelity, but carried on unrighteously, because self-confidently. Money was looked upon as the means of affording subsidies, or fitting out navies; it was regarded as the sinews of war; and the nation, which could without a murmur submit to raising 50,000,000*l.* a-year, for its favourite object, and could subsidize half the powers of Europe, would not devote one

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ten-thousandth of its annual expenditure to the service of its God. It would purchase the favour of God cheaply—would, according to the inherited custom of more pious times, sing *Te Deum laudamus*, to the Giver of victories, or order National Thanksgivings for their more signal deliverances; but they went before their God empty-handed, they offered the sacrifice of a lip-worship, which cost them nothing; two pence out of each 100*l.* employed annually in this great struggle, would have built a lasting temple to their Maker's praise, and gathered a congregation of Christian worshippers, and fenced round another portion of Christ's sheep, and set a dam against vice and profaneness, and furnished a witness that we were a Christian nation, but they would not. "They set up their banners for tokens;" they worshipped the God of armies, "but Him, whose kingdom is not of this world, they regarded not;" they "drew near to Him with their lips, but their hearts were far from Him."

It is then much to have escaped so soon from times such as these; it is something favourable that such a plan has found acceptance at all. The severe "scourge of God" traversed not in vain every part of Europe, and shook in its devious course almost every throne. Napoleon was launched, like a comet, into each portion of our social system, carried trouble where he did not inflict actual desolation, and thus, not by his own will, conveyed warmth and life to the distant stars of our firmament, which, by his own will, he would have "drawn down from Heaven, and cast them to the earth" (Rev. xii. 4.). Russia, Germany, England, each in their degrees, suffered from his approach or passage, and each have had new energy and life conveyed to them through the destroyer and the waster. In his visitation, or his sudden disappearance,—when "all faces gathered blackness" at his coming, or when, his mission over, he was "driven into a land barren and desolate, with his face towards the east sea" (Joel ii. v. 20),—in his elevation or when broken in pieces, he was alike a messenger of mercy. A new era is commencing of fresh energy, in almost every nation whither "the grounded staff passed;" showing itself diversely, according to their different moral states; yet, although undirected energy must manifest itself in monstrous forms, still as the character of the eighteenth century was one of torpor and relaxation, so is that of the nineteenth of awakening energy. Much of the character of the past period will cleave to it; "*tamen suberunt veteris vestigia fraudis*:" it is not to be hoped that the effects of past sins and negligence will be blotted out by present zeal; we shall feel them, doubtless, besetting our steps, and encompassing us with difficulties, and staining our work as we thereby have stained the work of God, and we shall feel them as admoni-

tions, if, through His mercy, we feel them not in wrath; still, though this must qualify our hopes for the future, and we may not look to it as likely to be unclouded, the light of our Father's countenance seems in a measure restored to us; the present is not like the past; the character of Germany is now on the whole one of commenced intellectual, our own of practical, vigour; and both, unclasped from the fetters of an irreligious stupefaction, which made the one bow down before the idol of rationalism, and held the eyes of our own Church, that she should not see the richness of the treasures which she possessed.

There is nothing of largeness of claim, in saying that we are at the commencement of a new era; such have taken place again and again since the Reformation, which was itself only one of such eras; and they have been brought about, not always by great outward events, but even by individuals. Hooker\* formed one such era, anticipating and forestalling in his meditative and ancient mind the results which were more generally brought out by the great rebellion: the revolution of 1688 formed <sup>h B</sup> another such era. It modified in a peculiar manner the relation of the Church to the State, not at once, but by a gradual and deepening influence; it caused the selection of a peculiar class of theological views to fill the higher offices of the church; a class, the very peculiarity of which was in many cases the absence of any distinctive peculiarity, or an eclectic latitudinarianism (as in Burnet and Hoadley); the separating off of the non-jurors cast disfavour over the peculiar character of English theology, which was embodied, yet probably narrowed, in them, for the most part, in that they were thus formed into a school; and the loss of the part thus ejected was to be compensated by the accession of a proportion of a foreign material; latitudinarianism again engendered unbelief; unbelief required defences of the faith, defences of the faith distracted from the contemplation of the Object of faith; and such must needs end in a meagre theology.

We can now look calmly back upon the last century, respecting the valuable names which were found in it, and which, though (*e. g.* Waterland) they attained not to the "three" were still "honourable" men. Yet with the period, the school of the last century has passed away; they who most nearly represent it now, are not what it was; it is broken up; some have passed off into, or have taken into themselves, different shades of non-conformist theology; and those who remain outwardly most true to it, have been obliged to cast themselves back more into antiquity; not explaining antiquity by modern notions, but transfusing its feel-

\* See Preface to the last edition of Hooker's works by Rev. J. Keble.

ings and notions into themselves. True theology penetrates the whole mass of human knowledge and thought ; it is its spring and soul, since "in Him we live and move, and have our being ;" and its history is consequently a mirror of the rest. The morality and evidences of Paley, the empiricism of Scotch so-called philosophy, the shallow history of Robertson, the sermons of Blair, the scripture exposition of Campbell, the theology of Burnet, the flippant remarks of Jortin on primitive history, belong essentially to the same spirit, and harmonize with the political principles of the century.

This period is gone ; nor is it any thing strange or contradictory, that precisely at this moment, wherever the relics of this worn-out age do exist, they exist,—not in their full vigour indeed, but in their full decrepitude. So it must ever be. We are in a state of transition ; and before the breath of the Almighty has infused life into the stiffened chrysalis, He allows the form whence it is to emerge gradually to lose its power of motion and apparent vitality, to contract and become rigid ; and it is after suspended animation that He bursts its bonds, and awakens it into its more spiritual existence. We seem to be extricating ourselves from the incrustation which gradually contracted around us during the last century ; but the shell, whence we escape, remains there undissolved, and blackening.

These then will remain, and, unlike the natural process, these prison-houses of reviving life are not simply conditions of its restoration and preservation, but instruments of trial, in that we have been brought into this state, not by any physical law, but as the corrective of past misconduct, and that misconduct in part still cleaves to us ; past sin becomes part of us. We are not only detained therein, but tried, by trial to be purified. And it is, in this respect, cheering to see how each succeeding trial is indeed the instrument of bringing out some new energy and life. As yet, in truth, the scourge has been rather suspended over us, to affright us into more diligent discharge of duty, than allowed to fall heavily upon us ; and so it is the more hopeful to observe how each threatened suspension of our privileges, has awakened some corresponding feeling, or called forth some answerable exertion. Each threatened breach in the walls of our Temple, has called out a living army to defend it. This is an earnest of what shall be. We seem (with humility be it spoken) not to need the last trial, whereby man is brought to an acknowledgment of his blessings, their loss ; the danger alone has been awakening men to a sense of their listlessness. Thus every one recollects, how the increased combinations against the Church, have determined multitudes, who before seemed, or were, indifferent ; and though in many this re-

kindled attachment shows itself, mingled with much earthly feeling, or even with a sort of ignorant air of patronage, as if, by professing their admiration or respect for the Church, they were doing her honour, not themselves; as if in supporting her (as the phrase is) they were not rather preserving privileges for themselves; yet this is but what is to be expected at the beginning of things: it is but the scum on the surface of the stagnant waters, which have been set free; as they flow on, they will become clearer and more refined. Again, in detail, the sacrilegious attempt to abolish church-rates, has more brought out men's feelings of their duty to "maintain truth;" not *any* religious form which men may chance to have set up, but the positive, real, objective, transmitted—truth. The abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts (little as it was intended) has had a tendency to restore discipline, and is setting the Church free to exercise it. The refusal of the state to prosecute blasphemy, involves the restitution of the Church's censures, as a guide to her children. Poor Laws were originally an interference with the Church; the Church's mode of maintaining poor is by the collections of the Lord's-day; but when the state had seized and squandered the wealth of the monasteries, then some other mode became necessary, to relieve the poverty whose home and refuge they had wasted. The plan devised by the state has been left to develop itself undisturbed; and when the evils of a scheme, begun on un-church principles, founded on confiscations of the patrimony of the poor, and carried on by avarice instead of charity, by mutual suspicion instead of mutual benevolence, became intolerable, then it became necessary to proceed still further, and the new plan (whatever be its merits in itself,) is a manifest violation of the parochial system, and breaks the bonds which connected the poor with their parochial minister, and their village Church. Yet this also has been working good; and has already, in some places, brought back the ancient, and more kindly, and more Church and Scriptural way, of weekly collections. So again, the absorption of our smaller bishoprics, and the threatened abolition of the ancient and venerated bishopric of Sodor and Mann, have very widely kindled, among the Clergy at least, the sense of the benefits of the more immediate presence of the bishop in his diocese, and his closer connexion with his clergy and people. The new Registration Acts, which were avowedly directed against the Church, have compelled the Clergy to teach their people, (what some otherwise shrunk from, lest they should seem to "preach themselves,") the claims of the Church to their allegiance, and to open more fully the doctrine of baptism, and the solemnity of marriage. The threatened destruction of the Cathedrals has opened the eyes of many to the

value of daily and intercessory public prayer, and of bodies set apart for that purpose.\* The menaced appointment of unfit persons to fill the episcopal office, has made men look to the safeguards of those appointments, and the value of that office. The refusal of the state to aid the Church in the colonies or at home, in England, or the Canadas, or Australia, has in each at once roused independent efforts; the state has avowed that "every one is to do that which is right in his own eyes;" that she will not aid the one more than the other; that she "careth for none of these things;" nay, in Australia, she has preferred Romish error to truth, and so the spirit of those who love the truth has been stirred; yea, we may trust that the "Spirit of the Lord has come mightily upon" men whom He has called to the work. Certain it is, that a strong anti-heathen spirit is abroad. The stone under which we took shelter has been removed, and so (though, at first, in some confusion as must needs be) we see every thing in commotion to restore, or more than restore, the loss which has been sustained. The indifference of the state has become the energy of the Church.

In this energy, the two funds for the Metropolitan Churches and for "Additional Curates" form an era; and this, on account of the magnitude and definiteness of the undertakings, and the scale on which members of the Church are contributing to their execution. The proposal of the Bishop of London was, to do that by the aid of Christian individuals, which, a century ago, had been done by the then government, as a sort of offering to gain the Church,—to build fifty churches in London. This was a great and definite object, as much perhaps as this fund need supply; for in these cases, the first impulse is what is chiefly needed, to remove the apathy arising from hopelessness. When men see that things are not desperate, when the rise of fifty churches in our metropolis shall have shown that the gigantic work can be carried on by human hands, though neither the wisdom nor the strength is man's, then others will take courage; each chapel built is a pattern, and a pledge that it shall be followed, and so, though finally for the (thirty-four) "parishes, only, which contain a population exceeding 10,000, in London and its vicinity, including the parishes on either side of the 'Thames,'" not fifty churches, but above five times fifty, even two hundred and seventy-nine churches, will be wanted, yet if but the fifty churches be built, we shall have an assurance of the remainder. It were

\* See *e. g.*, Dean Chandler's Sermon on the Daily Service, particularly in Cathedrals. J. W. Parker, West Strand, (price 2d. per doz.) See also the Memorials of the Cathedrals, and some valuable references to earlier authorities on this and other points in "The Prebendary." Hatchard, Rivingtons, and Seeley.

stranger that men, seeing that the work can be done, and is blessed, should break it off, should neither be carried on by holy impulse, nor a glorious emulation, nor the sight of actual benefits, nor the hope of future reward, to complete the task,—stranger were this, than that they should have lain so long insensible to all this, or having so lain, been capable of being again awakened. Shall renewed health not complete that which an imperfect convalescence, after a long sickness, has well begun? The whole Christian course frequently, one might say generally, is wrapt up in the first act; all Abraham's giant faith and obedience lay in the seed, in his first leaving his country and his father's house; not that each separate act of obedience is not a distinct trial, and admits of the possibility of a failure; but that "to him who hath, more is given;" the first decided act of faith sets a man in the right path, thence to go onward with increasing strength and decreasing difficulties; and things harder in themselves become easier to him, because he is upborne with enlarged strength, and the resistance of his own will is diminished. And so in collective undertakings: the first footing in the land is the pledge of its actual possession; the first listening to a scheme is well known to be the assurance of its completion. Compare the late Mr. Wilberforce's first effort to attain the abolition of the slave-trade, and the scorn attached to it, with the negotiations with all the European courts, and the vote of forty millions sterling to attain, speedily and at once, what men came to think a Christian duty,—the abolition, not of the slave trade only, but of slavery, and who will think that the first beginnings bear any proportion to the completion, or that the times may not soon come, when it shall be recognized as a first principle, that it is our first duty to provide for the souls of men; that we have no right to build ourselves "wide houses and large chambers, and cieľ them with cedar, and paint them with vermilion," (Jer. xxii. 14,) until we have built up houses of God for every portion of the Christian population of this land? Is it not stranger far, that any should now doubt it? Is man's bodily freedom a higher object than the freedom of the mind? or the wish to promote it, of necessity a more stimulating and more energetic motive, calculated to inspire greater sacrifices? The history of the early ages of the Church, and the foundation of the Gospel, bear witness to the reverse. Not by apostolic miracles only, but by apostolic faith, did the Gospel flash, in one century, like lightning, alike to Britain and to India.

These plans form then an era in our history, as a Christian nation, because they raise the scale of Christian charity, and set in a course in which themselves and the contributions, which now

seem relatively large, shall seem but the day of "small things." They appear to us great but relatively. Charity, it must be said, has hitherto been proposing to itself but to raise ostentatious sums at as little cost as may be; and since we are living on the confines of two periods, the ostentatious and cheap system of charity, as being the dregs of the former period, is being drunk down in the very last stage of its thickness. It is not endured thereby, but it is the very principle recognized, that charity is to cost nothing. Guineas are subscribed by the rich, and pence collected from the poor, on the very ground that they will not miss them,—not because God will repay them, but because they are too small to be an offering to God. Our model societies, the Christian Knowledge and Propagation of the Gospel, having been small private societies, and not what they now are, nor calculated to be such, furnished the example of guinea subscriptions; and societies which have nothing else in common with them, imitated them in this, because it was convenient to level all subscriptions, and it prevented the necessity of sacrifice; or wherein they have deviated has been in receiving subscriptions of half or a quarter of the sum. It may have been right to call in the contributions of the poorer; but why was the scale lowered on the one side, yet not heightened on the other? Why, but because people dreaded to give offence, or to deter subscriptions, or to deprive themselves of the patronage of the great, if the contribution should cost them anything; and so they have lowered the standard of charity of the country. As the giving what costs us something, strengthens the habits and the powers of charity, so that of giving to great objects that which costs us nothing, weakens it. Every annual guinea subscription from those whose daily income is thirty or one hundred, or even two or three hundred times, as much (for there are such), as their annual subscription, is a reproach to the system which we have adopted, and an injury to the donors. Men would not spontaneously have offered such pittance; they would have been ashamed of such offerings, had they not been *taught* to adopt a standard, which their better feelings would have rejected. We sweeten also the edge of our draught of charity, as if instead of being "marrow to the bones," it were gall and wormwood. We deck it out with bazaars, and balls, and music meetings, fearing not lest we should overlay it; we strive to out-do each other in plans, whereby to obtain the largest portion of money with the least portion of sacrifice; we hold it of less consequence *how* we obtain money, than *that* we obtain it; we increase luxuries to obtain charities; introduce a disease to further health; cozen people of their money and their reward too; and then boast ourselves of our charity, as if the charity of raising



money were comparable to the want of charity in carelessness how we raise it, as if we might redeem our carelessness of men's souls by the money which we thus carelessly, and so sinfully, raise for men's bodily wants, as if the Almighty Father were like ourselves, and loved the money for its own sake, or for what it might produce, not for the cheerfulness of the giver; or as if we might parade before Him what was won by this carelessness of that which bears His image and superscription—the souls of men.

These are the inventions of this age; they are the dregs of the decaying period; it is fertile, even to rankness, in devising new schemes of costless charity—bazaars, shilling or sixpenny subscriptions are its recent inventions; and it is of no long date, that people have learnt, that to eat, to drink, to dance, to assume fantastic characters, to listen to unmeaning music, to buy baubles, or, if the baubles be too costly, to gamble for them, are almsdeeds, charity, and good works, if so be that out of the, in some cases, vast expenditure, some little streamlet escape through to feed one of our established charities. And for the sake of sums so raised, we are to blunt our consciousness that every thing bestowed in real charity is a free-will-offering, and solemn act of devotion to Almighty God, which we would have presented unto Him by our merciful Intercessor, sprinkled with His blood.

We look then to these extensive plans, as so far forming an era, in that they are calculated to sweep away all this rubbish, turning in upon it the more healthful stream of self-denying charity. Any one, who looks upon either list, will see that the ratio of contribution is altogether altered; and among the contributions to the London Churches, not including the very highest and yet far from the very lowest, there are interesting and affecting cases of self-denial, which we trust will be known to the glory and joy of their givers at the Great Day.

These, then, are symptoms of a better state of things. That much dreary waste is still left bare and uncovered, is but what was to be expected—nor need it dismay us; the first stiff and prickly plant which rises from the sand which the sea has yielded up, is the sure harbinger, that in time flocks and herds shall there find pasture; the first few big drops, which fall but here and there in wide intervals, yet usher in assuredly the more plenteous shower. We would not be impatient; true it is, that in both these subscriptions, one misses with surprize and disappointment the names of many who are able, and others who, one should have hoped, had been willing, to stand foremost. One wonders, *e.g.* how that political body which has the name of the Church always in its mouth, should not see that the best way to support the Church is to build Churches; should not even see that themselves are weak

there, where they have neglected to do so, in our large populations, that the building of 50 or 100 Churches among the million and a half of our metropolis, would, with the moral, change also the political character of its inhabitants;—that had the sums which they, for some years past, have expended upon elections, been employed in Christianizing the electors, they would now have no occasion to employ any more;—that the entire source of their power and influence is the more or less Christian character of the people, and that therefore whatever tends to restore that character, secures the institutions which they value. But it is well that they should not see this; it is better, though we have to wait for it, that we should wait till they too are absorbed into the tide, and Conservatism, which in itself (whatever be many who are called after its name) is but the last form of the decayed and expiring system of the last century, shall be replaced by an enlightened and affectionate love of the Church, of which they are sons.

Neither also should we be impatient, although so many of those whose wealth is derived from, or expended in, the luxuries of the metropolis,—its great landed proprietors or the inhabitants of its houses, which are as palaces,—should have been so little awakened to the sense of their duties. None of them think upon the metropolis as their home; and it is a blessing that they do not. Their affections are away in the homes of their ancestors and of their childhood; among the trees, and woods, and glades of the peaceful country. The metropolis has not their affections, and they cannot at once feel their debt towards it. Nor do they know the extent of its needs—figures cannot represent it; one may, in vain, repeat that “in 34 parishes of the metropolis alone, for 379 Churches we have but 69, or, including proprietary chapels, 100; that we have little more than 1-4th of the number of Churches which we ought to have in these alone, in order to provide one Church for each 3000 souls.”\* And yet that this calculation extends to but 2-3rds of the metropolis, it includes not the wants of half a million of souls. The numbers fall upon their ear, but they see it not, they cannot realize it; they see but the fair whitened outside, and know not the squalid wretchedness which lurks within a few yards of their own palaces; wretched because vicious, vicious because irreligious, and irreligious because never taught to be otherwise; outcasts from the Church, and so a prey to Satan. This must be brought by the Clergy in detail before them; they are men; very many benevolent men; but the whole subject is unhappily new to them, they have not had the occasions, which we have, of seeing the misery which this negligence has

\* Bishop of London's Statement, republished in First Report of Metropolis Churches Fund.

engendered; they have, with us, too long stayed themselves on that broken staff, the State; are accustomed to think that these things *should* be done without calling upon them, and so are slow to make an unwonted, and, as they think, uncalled for sacrifice; they cannot at first see, that the negligence of the State has bestowed a privilege upon them, the high honor of providing for the wants of the poorer members of their Lord.

All this must be borne patiently; and it is to be feared that there was but little wisdom and little temperance in some journals, which repeatedly brought forward the names of certain Whig large landed proprietors in London, to shame them into giving. True, they do owe a great debt to the metropolis, which they have so fearfully enlarged; true, that their money would be safer in God's keeping than in their own; as indeed two of them, it is well-known, have at different periods lost sums, which would have built ten or twice ten churches, through those whom they trusted; happier far, had they trusted it with God! but religion and the relief of religious wants must not be mixed up with secular politics. Neither Whiggism nor Conservatism are in themselves religious, although the one accidentally is more connected with its establishment; it is not religious to support religion, so far as religion will support one's self, or one's views for the good of one's country; it may be patriotism and a civil virtue; and they who so act may be instruments of a share of blessing on their country, in that they seek to uphold what is a blessing, although themselves know not its intrinsic blessedness; but one need not say, that the religious statesman must seek to further religion for its own sake, though for a time the way of supporting it seems adverse to the success of his own secular views, to render his party unpopular with those whom he seeks to benefit, and so even to injure his temporary usefulness. Whoso will be a great religious statesman must look onward, risk much for the time, have faith in God, and commit his way to Him, must plight himself to religion to share her outward circumstances, "till death" do not "part" him, but unite him to her for ever. And this, Conservatism has not yet learnt to do; and it might be alleged truly, in reprisal, that the members of the present Whig administration (little as they have done) have contributed more to the metropolitan Churches, than those of the late Conservative; that the Whig member of Middlesex is the only layman who has given 2000*l.* to the same object. We would not then suffer ourselves to irritate these men or to be vexed at their delay; public papers, which may fall into any hands, are not the instruments to act upon them; nor the fear or shame of men the motives we should employ; they are men, we owe them tenderness; it is not their

money only that we want : we want money " which shall abound to their account " (Phil. IV 17), which shall be a blessing to themselves, their families, and their posterity. We see that the holding it back is a sore evil to them, that they keep it to their hurt ; we pity them for so doing ; they are tried with great wealth ; and the character of the century in which their habits were formed was unfavourable to habits of *proportionable* liberality. The scale upon which this effort is made, is new, and they were educated in a degenerate period ; they too, we trust, will rise above it ; but the *very* rich have been, by the very habits of the country, untaught to give in any proportion to their means ; the parade which is made of large donations, which rich men cast into the treasury, hinders them from giving largely ; they are taught even by the religious to be self-satisfied ; they are praised out of self-interest, (not in the lowest sense, but still self-interest, in that it is for the sake of institutions in which self is interested, and because self is interested in them) without any regard to the injury it may do to them, or the exertions which it may stifle ; they are taught that if they give out of their superfluities, their hundreds, or their thousand pounds, or roast oxen for the poor, or give blankets, or distribute meat, that they are models of charity. Whereas (though the thought which leads them to do this may be, we trust, in its degree acceptable) this diminishes not one of the luxuries which they have been taught to heap around themselves, interferes not with one fancy which they may wish to indulge. They are praised, because it is thought that the praise will induce or shame others to do the like, without regarding the injury it may do to them. They should be stimulated, instead of being taught to be content. But this will take time : and so we must be content to wait, till for these great works, their hundreds become thousands, and their thousands tens of thousands : and this, we trust, they will do, for the waters are now stirred, betokening the presence of God, and the motion imparted will spread to the parts as yet unmoved, until they at last burst their present boundaries of custom and self-indulgence and listlessness, and flow over with healing to the nations. Man will in time learn again to build temples to God, and houses for themselves, not palaces, or rather temples, to enshrine themselves, and huts for the worship of their God.

We have seen an American calculation how, in different ways, a portion of the unemployed wealth of our metropolis would have relieved their national difficulties and restored their commercial credit ; the jewels of our ladies, we were told, or the plate of their lords, perhaps a fraction of them, would, if sold, remove all the perplexities which overclouded the commercial relations of the United States, and which carried dismay into many parts of our

own country. Wealth then there is in store. All will recollect also how, in the last struggle with the scourge of Europe, the women of Prussia gave their ornaments of gold or precious stones to the royal treasury, and looked upon the iron cross as their noblest ornament. Even heathen Rome did the same; and, in the spirit of the last century, in a political contest for a county seat, which cost each party towards 150,000*l.*, a lady of high family is reported to have said, "I will pawn my diamonds sooner than —— (her son) shall not come in." And shall such feelings be for ever called out only by immediate earthly ends? is the spirit of early Christian times for ever fled? or shall Israelitish women alone give their ornaments for the service of their God? or shall not ours gladly give their jewels to the treasury of the King of kings, and receive joyously from Him the iron cross, which He shall acknowledge hereafter before men and angels as His signet? We cannot think it; we cannot but hope that the wealth accumulated in the metropolis is stored up, not to be wasted or destroyed, but to be let loose and unimprisoned and restored to the glory of its Giver; we cannot but see in these beginnings a promise that men will one day see the true end of their riches, that they will again glory in beautifying the house of their God, that they will see it to be their glory to be adorned with good works not with costly array, will cast away what are now their idols in order to build temples for their God here, that they may be received into everlasting habitations; that our women will part with their jewels here, that they find them set and sparkling in their everlasting crown, wherewith their Lord shall adorn for ever the brows of those who have parted with earthly things for His sake.

It is but a small beginning, that among the subscriptions to the London Churches, there are, at least we are informed, some three sums raised by parting with the ornaments of their owners; the sums are small; this was natural; it is with such that the beginning must be made; here also we must wait with patience; the rich young man went away grieved; the fishermen and the receiver of customs left all; but in due time also, many were found to part with lands and houses, and lay their price at the apostles' feet; and so we hail these faint streaks, though in themselves slight, as heralds of a brighter, glorious day, and we joy in these two plans, as calculated to encourage sacrifices, which shall renovate the decaying spirit of our country, and restore it to the days of her youth.

It has been observed, that the clergy are foremost in both these plans, especially in that for providing additional curates for populous places. This was to be expected, and is as it should be. In the last century, the clergy assimilated themselves to the laity;

by a wrong application of the principle of "becoming all things to all men" they thought to win, at least, the good disposition of the laity by becoming like them; they joined them in their amusements, cast a certain degree of decency over them, were a check at least to some offences; but they enlarged their houses, imitated the habits of laymen, received society in the like way, became, out of the Church, a more decent and well-behaved and restrained set of gentlemen. It is part of this new era that they are to be imitated, not the imitators; to teach, by their example, habits of self-denial, as they followed the teaching of the laity to self-indulgence; they must not stand upon punctilios, whether contributions for additional clergy be not rather the duty of the laity, they must put themselves forward to the work: if before men they are justified in abstaining, would they deprive themselves of the blessedness of this voluntary service? They must, by their example, break the yoke of custom, and give effect to their preaching.

But, there is a yet more difficult sacrifice for them than that of sacrifice of money, which they must hazard in this great cause; they must not only give liberally, but they must speak more boldly. It is our fault that these meagre habits of giving have so grown and indurated. The ancient fathers of the Church, in the courts of emperors, as among the unsubdued temperaments of Africa, spoke boldly and plainly against the luxury of their times, set before people what they were losing, taught them uncompromisingly, out of Scripture, the blessedness of abundant self-denying almsgiving, pointed to the never-dying crown, and bade them be "merciful, as they hoped to obtain mercy." Our homilies echo their language; our first preachers after the Reformation (*e.g.* Latimer), continued their spirit. And, if we would contribute to the coming of the kingdom of our Lord, which seems now to dawn upon us, we must break off the complimentary language of our speeches, our writings, and our sermons; we must teach men to be dissatisfied with themselves, not to be pleased with us; not to compliment us on our eloquence, but to carry off the "coal" in their own hearts, which, though it at first must make them uneasy, and, perhaps, dislike us, will kindle the flame of never-dying charity, which shall burn out all selfishness, and shine on to everlasting glory. We must be more plain-spoken, must teach men to look upon themselves as stewards, and their property as the property of God committed to their keeping, not (as most now do) to regard their riches as their own, out of which they may first satisfy themselves, and then give some of the overflowings to the service of God. We must offend some, that we may heal many. We must speak with tenderness, indeed, and gentleness, seeking to win, not to offend;

but we must state that which will offend some, who will "go away sorrowful," while others will give up that for which they "shall receive manifold more in this present world, and in the world to come life everlasting."

We cannot but think, that if the Clergy of the metropolis had followed out, more energetically, the scheme of their Bishop, greater results would have been already produced; we would have had them preach, not once or twice, but oftentimes; not speak of the plan as a thing desirable, but as an essential to our well-being; not recommend only, but *demand* support, in the name of their God and Saviour, and of those poor outcasts, members of their Saviour; press in public and in private, in season and out of season; preach a crusade against these luxuries and extravagances, which dry up the sources of charity: go from house to house, wherever they could obtain admission, and plead, as men in earnest, who realized the value of the souls for whom Christ died. We have reason to know, that many heads of establishments in London would have brought the subject before the members of those establishments, had the Clergy applied to them; this had placed the Clergy in their proper relation, and given the laity an additional interest in their Church. We trust that the Clergy will, in the ensuing season, even yet exert themselves; at present, we know only of two collections made in the metropolis itself, by the means of preaching.

Still, though there are too many traces that we are but in the infancy of liberal almsgiving, the degree of success, with which these schemes have been blessed, is very encouraging. The delays which were interposed, in the commencement of the Metropolis Churches Fund, by the hope of gaining some, who would not join in the work except they had the disposal of the appointments, and, finally, by the alarming illness of the Bishop, are well known. The difficulty of obtaining sites in the crowded city, where every foot of ground is thronged with human souls, and each tenement yields an ample profit, if not through the means, yet through the density, of its inhabitants, or its convenience for trade, has since delayed the building; and yet, before one stone of any new Church was laid, within twelve months of the commencement of the undertaking, above 117,000*l.* were collected; in the Curates Fund, although the committee has not been yet formed, some thousands per annum have already been pledged. If these be the first gushings of the rock, which the Lord hath caused to be struck, what shall the river be?

The facts of the Metropolis Churches Fund have been briefly told in the Report; four sites for Churches have been given, four purchased, the fee of three promised by Prebends of St Paul's;

three Churches almost roofed in in the desolate parish of Stepney, in which, out of 51,200, only 3338 had means of public worship; two more in preparation elsewhere, and *ten* more in progress, through the partial assistance of the funds. When these fruits shall have been seen, is it possible that men will hold their hands?

We would only add, that the expenditure has been careful; and, although we regret that it has been necessary to spend 1000*l.* in advertising, this is only a part of the awkwardness of our present system of subscriptions, and shows how much better was the ancient plan of parochial collections; still, compared to the amount raised, it is relatively small,  $\frac{1}{117}$ , whereas, in the Bible Society, some years ago, incidental expenses were  $\frac{1}{7}$ .

The Additional Curates Fund has not yet commenced its operations; but it cannot be too much pressed upon persons notice, that *it introduces no new principle or machinery into the Church, disturbs no existing order, has no untried elements, but simply proposes, preserving everything else as it now exists, to provide fresh funds, whereby our desolate cities may be supplied with pastors, and the pastors which they already have, be saved from wearing out their strength in contending with impossibilities. It introduces no risk, but only strengthens and restores our well-tried parochial system.*

And now, if we may speak freely what we think essential for the future success of these plans, we would first say, that we regard, as of great moment, that in the districts assigned to these new Churches, there should be no appearance of doing more than is actually done. It is worse than useless to divide parishes of 50,000, into five districts of 10,000, or even ten districts of 5000; this merely disguises the magnitude of the evil, imposes duties still impossible, and prevents their remedy. We trust that this sort of palliative will, on this new system, be abandoned; it is hypocritical, in that it pretends to do more than is done, and it has the reward of hypocrisy, in that it prevents the cure of the evil which it disguises.

The other point is of greater magnitude. No one can think on the promptness with which these two calls have been answered—calls put forth, in the one case, by an individual Bishop, in the other, for a scheme not as yet carried out in a single instance, and where the committee of management, though settled in principle, has not yet been formed—without being convinced, that if the heads of our Church were collectively to urge the needs of our whole Church and country, what has now been done, would seem, and would be, as nothing. Nothing is impossible to faith, because nothing is impossible to God who gives it. The wants of our Church might be presently supplied, were an



united effort made, and our bishops, as a body, to appeal and instruct our clergy to carry out the appeal, to the collective church. The energies of our Church have never yet been roused, nor herself appealed to collectively. It is not by the formal transitory circulation of a royal letter (although in its way useful), but by a continued appeal that she must be roused; and she may be roused, as Europe was by the voice of St. Bernard: "she is not dead, but sleepeth," and she may be again awakened, and raise herself from the dust, and be again clad in her beautiful garments, so soon, as with earnest Apostolic voice she be bid, in the Name of Jesus Christ, to arise. But, though in the course of human waywardness both will be done, it is not in the same time that men will "plant" and "pluck up that which is planted," "break down," and "build up;" and therefore in the name of the Church, (and we are confident that we are speaking in the name of the Church, although she has naturally been slow in expressing her sentiments), in the name of the Church we implore those of our Bishops, who have yielded, as they thought, to necessity, in consenting to the despoiling of our Cathedrals, to stay their hands, and the far larger number of these guardians of our Church who have not been committed to that act, to let their voice be heard loudly and decisively to save them; some at least of those, who have been for the time overborne, would not willingly see the consequences of the recommendations in which they have been involved. They would not willingly see the ruin which these schemes would entail, and for which, some, who have had no means of experiencing the benefits of our cathedrals, would principally advocate them. We have their warm genuine sentiments recorded, when free from this external pressure. "I am speaking,"\* said our loved Archbishop, not as words of ordinary feeling, but when the ill-digested plan of a layman,† founded upon bare conjecture, had begun to tempt the cupidity of the country,

"I am speaking to those, who, (though in another capacity they may be charged with the cure of souls), appear in this place, not as parochial ministers, but as the members of an Ecclesiastical body, which, from its connection with a Church, the highest in rank, as it is the first in antiquity in this kingdom, is eminently distinguished among those corporations, which add much to the dignity, and, I may venture to say, to the usefulness of our National Establishment. Our forefathers, though they well understood the nature and value of a simple and spiritual worship, were of this opinion; and while they abolished useless foundations, and expelled from their Churches the gaudy decorations and ceremonial pa-

\* Charge at the primary Visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1832, inscribed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and the Clergy of the several Deaneries, &c.—pp. 18—20.

† Lord Henley's.

geantry, which diverted the attention of the people from the proper objects of devotion, they deemed it conducive to the honour of God, to preserve many Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with ample endowments, under the keeping of bodies of clergy, to whom from their qualifications and circumstances, the due performance of the service and the care of the fabric might be safely trusted. Regardless of the opposition which they had to encounter on this head, the monarchs and statesmen of those days were not to be moved from their purpose. In a later age, when these sacred edifices had been profaned and defaced, the clergy dispersed, and the property alienated by fanatical fury and rapacity, the Government, though under strong temptations of avarice, and having little to fear from resistance, continued to act on the same principle. It would indeed have been little to the credit of a nation, so highly favoured by Providence with temporal blessings, to have seized on revenues which had been appropriated to the service of God by the piety of less opulent ages. And I trust the time will never arrive, when, either religious prejudice or philosophical theory, or avidity, concealing its baseness under pretences of public good, will be suffered to triumph in the destruction of these Establishments."

We could not have the principle of retaining foundations for their specific ends, regardless of any "pretences of public good," more pointedly or explicitly maintained. As decidedly is it spoken in what follows (as it is implied in what precedes), that these institutions, at least, as far as relates to the residentiary body, were *not* for parochial purposes, but (besides pious learning) for the majesty of the service of God, which they who think that it can in any age be spared, know little of the secret springs of the human soul.

"The objects to which you are particularly bound to attend, *might be collected from the nature of the Establishment, if they were not especially determined by the statutes.* The general purpose is to exalt the honour of God, and show forth His Majesty with all the impressive solemnity, which can be imparted to prayer and praise, by voices and instruments in sublime and harmonious unison, assisted by the effect of an architecture as far above ordinary buildings in style and dimensions, as the simple greatness of nature is beyond the works of art.—But the awful solemnities of religious worship, and the magnificence of the structure, by no means complete the idea of an Establishment designed to be worthy in every respect of the Divine Majesty. Your Constitution embodies a number of persons of different ranks, and with different duties, entitled to benefits in various proportions, and of divers kinds. While some are invested with dignity, and charged with the responsibilities of government, the rest have their several functions, subordinate indeed, yet not without honour, in the service of God. Nor can we overlook the appendant foundations for the relief and comfort of the aged, and for the education of the young. An Establishment so constituted, if rightly conducted in all its parts, will present a picture of order cemented by charity, of authority administered with gentleness, and obedience yielded with pleasure, the highest providing for the good of the whole, and all in

gradation contributing their proportion of service till the measure of duty be full."

One lingers with a melancholy longing over sentiments so beautifully expressed, and so bright a picture drawn so touchingly, nor can we part with it without listening to the pious prayer, wherewith it is concluded.

"May the hymn and the anthem never cease to resound through its clustering columns and vaulted roofs, whilst its lofty towers proclaim to the stranger who visits the land, that her present generation are no less sincere than their fathers, in their veneration for the national religion. May it never again be polluted by the invasion of sacrilege, nor yield up to the spoiler the treasures which afford the means of its preservation."

Such were the matured and glowing sentiments of one who for nearly 30 years has, as a member or a guardian, been connected with our Cathedrals; and can we think that he would spontaneously yield up to decay, the fabrics which he loved with such intelligent affection, or himself lay the "spoilers" hand upon the very Cathedral, whose spoliation he here deprecates, and withdraw two-thirds of its revenues for objects, necessary in themselves, but necessary only through the neglect and "avidity" and penuriousness of others, and whose necessities may be amply supplied, so soon as a more noble spirit shall awaken, as it is awakening, in our land?

There is not the necessity by which some, who love our Cathedrals, seem to have been overborne. The country grudges not the foundations of the Cathedrals; people had misgivings about them, only while they were misled with exaggerated statements of their wealth, and ignorant of their original destination and character. They will not grudge, they will glory in them, if our Bishops will fill such of them as they have the disposal of, and earnestly intercede with her Majesty, that others be filled as they were once wont, with men of piety and learning; but least of all, will they wish to touch them, when they know that they were founded by individuals for distinct ends, (not according to the vulgar notion, to say masses for the dead, but,) "to the honour and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity,\* to whom the founders willed that they shall remain consecrated for ever. "Cursed

\* "We, dedicating the aforesaid close, site, circle and precinct, to the honour and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, have decreed that a certain Cathedral and Metropolitan Church, with one dean a presbyter, and twelve prebendaries presbyters, there wholly and *for ever* to serve Almighty God, shall be erected, set up, founded, and established, and this same Cathedral Church, consisting of one dean a presbyter, and twelve prebendaries presbyters, with other ministers necessary for divine worship, we do by these presents really and fully create, set up, and found, and establish, and ordain that it shall be established and *inviolably maintained for ever.*" Charter of the Cathedral of Canterbury; the like is the tenor of that of Ely, (see Memorials of Chapters, Parl. Paper, pp. 16—17,) and the rest.

is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark;" but besides the sacredness which God has by this curse cast around all property, these were guarded by solemn adjurations, that they should be allowed to stand for ever to His glory, to Whom they were dedicated. Our forefathers gave what was their own to these holy ends, and to the glories and beauty of holiness; and because we think men will now not give of their own for the barest supply of the spiritual subsistence of our Christian people, shall we take that which is still theirs, which they, it may be, are still looking on, (as their bodies oftentimes sleep within the shade of the Churches which they raised), which they adjured posterity to hold inviolate, and bound our Bishops by oath to respect and guard,\* and not to betray. It ceased not to be theirs, nay it began to be truly theirs, because they consecrated it to God: it has not ceased to be theirs, because they have passed from among us; they are alive, though not visible to us; they "live to God;" they have indeed no arm of flesh to repel those who would invade what, since while they had it on earth, they gave it unto God, is still theirs; but they are in His presence, Whose arm is not the arm of flesh, Who hath said, "Cursed is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark," and who will revenge. Money so obtained can carry no blessing. It is cankered; it would soon be dissipated, and leave no trace except a leprous taint, eating out the fabric into which it was received. But it would seriously check the daily rising spirit, whereby men are now being stirred up to emulate the deeds of their forefathers; the contemplation of it has acted as a discouragement; men love to part with their own for lasting ends; they love to live on in the earth as benefactors to the Church in all ages, to picture to themselves generation after generation succeeding and profiting by their sacrifices, to do good so "long as sun and moon endure," to benefit the sheep of Christ, until the chief Shepherd shall appear, and earthly wants and provisions be no more: but if their will is to expire, like a copyright, some years after they are dead, and their gifts are to be resumed, not because the purposes to which they destined them cannot be fulfilled, but because a needy and parsimonious age would tamper with their consciences, supplying necessary wants by appropriating and perverting the liberality of other men, who will trust so unfaithful a nation? Endowments have already been intercepted by the report

\* "I swear to maintain the rights and liberties of this Church, and to observe the approved customs thereof, and, as far as it concerns the Archbishop, to cause the same to be observed by others, so far as such customs are not repugnant to God's word, the laws, statutes, provisions, and ordinances of the realm, or to His Majesty's prerogative, and not otherwise." Oath taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury at his enthronization, *Memorials of Chapters*, p. 6.

of these purposes, and the reputed insecurity of Church property; what will be the case, if (which God forbid) they should be realized? No! there exists, can exist, no necessity; the paltry sum of 140,000*l.* per annum (which as the other erroneous and retracted calculations of this board may show, will never be realized, but if it could)—this paltry sum can impose no necessity to trample on the wills of our forefathers, lay the spoiler's hand on these institutions, some of which have been contemporaneous with our Church, or give those noble fabrics, "which proclaim to the stranger," yea which impress upon ourselves, testify to the saints, bear witness before God, "that we are no less sincere than our fathers in our veneration for the national religion, to a certain and not slow decay." There can be no necessity to contravene the solemn adjurations of the yet living dead; their gifts are better far, untouched; where it can be shown that the character of their property has been unexpectedly altered, so that the gift should no longer be that which they intended, let it be modified; but let not the nation dare to disturb what is sacred as their ashes, the monuments of their piety! ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων. Their dissipated wealth will carry barrenness, and dry the sources of piety, wherever it is scattered; but let this uncertainty which now hangs around *their* monuments, our cathedrals, be removed, let there be an earnest wish to carry out their wills (instead of first abusing their gifts, and then, by a double wrong, making men's abuse of their gifts a plea for wasting them,) and these beginnings of enlarged liberality, which we now see, will swell and multiply, and we shall obtain a double blessing, for having withstood temptation, and ourselves performed a duty. "Whose faith follow, beholding the end of their conversation." Filial piety to our ancestors is a foundation of national, as piety to immediate parents, is of personal prosperity: the honour of parents is the condition of remaining "long in the land, which the Lord our God hath given us."

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\* "The fabric can neither be maintained in its beauty, nor preserved from decay without repair." Charge, p. 21. The amount of expenditure on the repairs and decorations of the Cathedral of Canterbury in the ten preceding years is there stated (p. 23) to have exceeded 29,000*l.* "To this must be added the expense of rebuilding the Arundel towers, for which 20,000*l.* had been raised by way of loan," and more needed. The melancholy state of the Cathedrals of Normandy, which eye-witnesses have reported, shows what must be the fate of our own if the recommendations of the commission were carried out.

ART. XI.—*The Remains of the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, M. A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Rivingtons. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE first volume of this book, to which the following observations will be confined, presents an unusually perfect history of as remarkable a mind as it is often our lot to fall in with. It is remarkable, not merely for its talent, energy, and depth of religious feeling, but because the character in which these qualities issue, is one almost new to the eyes of this generation, and with this unusual tone of thought and feeling, is joined a deep reality and consistency, which forces attention, and perhaps deference, even when the author's views least coincide with our own settled prejudices.

The contents of the first volume are a Private Journal kept during the years 1826 and 1827, consisting almost entirely of confessions, resolutions, and prayers; about eighty pages of "Occasional Thoughts," running parallel with the Journal while it lasts, and then in part supplying its place till 1829; an Essay, written for a prize at Oxford, early in 1826; and extracts from his Correspondence, from 1823 till his death in the beginning of 1836. The second volume contains Sermons. However, before proceeding directly to these, it may be allowed us to make a few remarks which may serve to draw attention to the more important points in the author's character.

It would seem clear, that every religious system must receive much of its character from the predominance of what may be called the kindly or the lofty feelings—affection towards man, or desire after God. Scripture and reason equally tell us that the love of our brother, whom we have seen, is intended to train us up to the love of God, whom we have not seen; that the love of God, who is high and holy, is to raise, to deepen, and to direct the love of our brother, who is weak and despicable like ourselves. We are to love our brethren in Christ; Christ in our brethren. The insipid good nature which sees in its fellow creatures no more than beings capable of large measures of enjoyment, and whom it is pleasant to see enjoy themselves, is obviously as far from reasonable or from Christian love, as the heated fanaticism which thinks it finds God by overlooking His creatures. However, there is a wide intermediate range of character among those who neither neglect nor rest in their fellow-men. With some, those feelings of reverence and admiration, which seem like the voice of God assigning to every man his province, are more deeply touched by the quiet holiness of domestic life, its little

delicate self-sacrifices, its affectionate attentions and glad confidence. The idol of their hearts is one whom men love even when he is most severe, or, if they love him not, they dare not avow it, knowing that the world would hold them self-condemned; whose enjoyment it is to confer enjoyment, who moves about with a heart and sympathies open to all he meets, expecting no evil; and, when encountered by vice, rebukes it with a mixture of horror, pity, and simplicity, which, if they fail to convince, at least never irritate or harden. Not that such an one need be wanting in the expression of just indignation, but he shows no intention to punish, no assumption of superiority. He speaks either by way of affectionate remonstrance, or to disburden his own conscience; and those who are too bad to be affected by mere goodness, only say of him "that he is as kind-hearted a man as can be; pity he should let his fancies run away with him."

It need hardly be said that this is Christian love, but not its only form. Minds more bitterly alive to the unsatisfying nature of earthly things, will thirst after some more immediate form of self-devotion to God: and the same feelings which render their brethren less adequate representatives of their Heavenly Father in their hearts, imply capacities which render them less necessary. They will press as close to God as He will let them, anxious, if it were possible, to anticipate His purposes concerning them, watching for permission to throw away earthly comforts in His service, if He will give them the signal to take to themselves that honour; laborious by meditation and mortification of the flesh, to root out from their hearts every idle desire that interferes with His presence there, and to bend to His direct service every high taste and faculty which He has given them; who would sing songs to His glory, though there were none to hear them, and would adorn holy places though there were none to see them, anxious for no result, but for the mere happiness of devoting heart, head, and hand to His honour, if they have but an instinct or a word of His to tell them that He will be pleased with this their little offering. These men will no more forget their brethren than the others will forget God; they will have their words of encouragement for the penitent, of courtesy for the stranger, of deep affection for their friends. But they do not go about, overflowing with kindness and confidence to all men. Perhaps circumstances have thrown upon them one of those great works which ever lie about the world unappropriated, and they are "straitened till it be accomplished." Perhaps the work of their own salvation lies heavier on their spirits than on theirs who live and die in happy, quiet, uniform thankfulness. Perhaps their own renunciation of the lesser pleasures of life, makes them less understand the value

which others set on them. At any rate their constant endeavour to realize within themselves their own high aspirations, tends to unfit them for sympathising with buoyant earthly merriment, or sanguine earthly wishes, except it be with the passing interest which we give to the careless gaiety of a child.

Again, the stern examination by which they purge their own hearts, that they may be worthy of God, opens to them the secrets of others. It shows them what is their own meanness in the sight of God, and what it may be in the sight of their fellow-men; but it lays upon them the painful power of seeing through profession and self-deceit, and it teaches them how, by word and eye, to silence and chastise as well as to protest. And though they have sympathy for almost any extent of perplexity, prejudice, and weakness of intellect or purpose, yet they are not thereby inclined to deal tenderly with shallow presumption, or flippant levity, or proud disobedience. If precepts, or feelings, or practices, which they have learnt by much study and humility to appreciate, are, without the compliment of an investigation, sneered at or overborne, then they feel within them the power, and for the sake of those who will be led away, and of Him whose gifts are dishonoured, they are ready to take on themselves the responsibility of inflicting punishment. They are not satisfied with expressing their indignation, they wish to do it effectually; and to serve the cause to which they have devoted themselves, by impressing a feeling, as far as their influence extends, that serious things will not be treated in a proud or a random way with impunity.

These men, it need scarcely be said, are not talked of as "kind-hearted fellows;" they are felt to be partisans, and are revered or hated accordingly. Their presence, when it does not deepen the interest of conversation, is apt to impose a check on its freedom. Men are afraid of being frivolous and unreal in their presence; doubtful what will offend them; or what degree of forbearance they may reckon on; suspicious of their motives, as of men who do not speak freely, unless they speak with authority, of what they most deeply mean; and cautious in accepting their friendship, for it is only firmly given to similarity of religious aim. But the loftiness of sentiment which confines, deepens also the flow of their sympathies; their power of severity gives meaning to their affection, and their singleness of aim a high harmony to their thoughts and tastes. Those who will take their hand and walk with them, will find the fruit of their friendship rich according to its noble origin and tenure.

Now, of these two characters it would perhaps be overbold to say which is holiest; at any rate the loveliness of one is very



different from the majesty of the other ; different, not indeed in essentials, but in the hopes, fears, tastes, and sentiments, which it forces uppermost. Most men probably look to some particular class of blessings as more especially God's gift, sent to them, like tokens from a friend in a far country, to say that He remembers them individually. The former character would see Him more touchingly in the affectionate friends, the comforts and the joy by which He gilded even the surface of His deeper blessings ; the latter in the opportunities for lofty enterprise or well aimed self-devotion, accorded like an approving answer to their unsatisfied wishes. Most men have some prayer nearest their hearts, which wakens them up even when most cold and sluggish ; with the one this would probably be that their friends might be blessed ; with the other, that God would glorify His Holy Name —“ Build thou the walls of Jerusalem.”

But it is useless multiplying antitheses where the distinction is so broad and obvious. What is more to the purpose to observe is, that the later Church of England character is very decidedly of the former cast. Ours is the Church of Walton and Herbert, not of Athanasius and Ambrose. And truly we have been born into a beautiful inheritance. Our fathers have bequeathed to us the appreciation of a kindly and a holy spirit ; a spirit of affectionate unobtrusive meekness, of considerate friendliness, of calm cheerfulness. And these are in their measure not only appreciated but realized amongst us ; the domestic and social virtues of our clergy are in the mouths of every panegyrist of the Church of England, and are hardly denied by her enemies. Their intrinsic excellence, and the service they are daily rendering to the cause of Christianity, are every where before our eyes. But not content with thankfulness, we have been boastful of this grace of ours ; we have spoken of it as if it were the only form of Christian love ; as if no man could have any other line of action than to be frank and amiable, to marry and bring up a family, to be neighbourly to his equals, and active in relieving want, “ giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed.” Now it may be true, that this is the line of active duty fit for most men, and ordinarily dwelt upon in the New Testament. But it is equally true, that “ every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.” And it is true, that there are passages of Scripture which address themselves to a very different class of minds ; passages which *ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρεῖται*, which “ all men cannot receive, but they to whom it is given.” There are a whole class of expressions in the New Testament, which though surely they do not condemn the English Church, yet seem somehow not to have received their natural

developement in it. "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast . . . . and come and follow me." "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you." "Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep." "Κάλον ἀνθρώπῳ γύναικος μὴ ἀπτεσθαι." "Every one that hath forsaken brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." We seem afraid of these. We are anxious judiciously to point out that in these days, when Christianity is rich, men of "large possessions" are not called on to sell all they have; when it is established, to leave fathers and wives; that when Christianity is protected from injury, there is no expediency in remaining single; when it is triumphant, no reason why we should not laugh now. As if there were no heathens to be evangelized in foreign countries, no large towns in our own, no temples built unworthily for cheapness sake, no zealous poor left uneducated for the ministry, no lamentations in our Prayer-book over the disuse of practices which only the perverseness of our people can prevent us from reviving, no cause in our own hearts for sorrow and humiliation. Or in another view, as if the conduct of those who gave up all that riches or domestic comfort could give them, to devote themselves to a definite religious object, was a reproach to those who reposed in the bosom of their families. Within our own Church we are over careful to soothe enthusiasm, and somewhat helpless in directing it. In judging foreign churches or other ages, we talk of a "misguided zeal for what they consider the glory of God," "the fantastic rigours by which men render themselves callous to the sufferings of others," "the extinction of the domestic affections to aggrandize one ambitious Church," words which may be true or not, as they are applied, but which, as commonly used, are rather rashly bandied about, considering all the hints and recommendations that Scripture contains. We can be warm enough in our censures of those who would call down fire from Heaven, or sit at the right hand of Christ, but have perhaps too much fellow feeling with him who went away sorrowful when he found he must not only obey the law, but sell his property.

The book now before us is, most unquestionably, not of the peculiar Church of England character, but of that cast which we are somewhat apt to depreciate, or to look on as a romantic unreality. Whether we have gained or lost by suffering it to sleep so long amongst us, is a question on which some difference of opinion may be expected. Such as the author is, however, we shall endeavour to place before our readers some of the leading features of his character.

In his *Private Journal* which was written chiefly in 1826, when he was about 24, the feeling round which all others seem to group themselves, is a craving after an ideal happiness,—real and attainable, though not yet,—of which all our refined perceptions of beauty, nobility, and holiness, are but indications and foretastes, and in which, as our character becomes equal to our capacities, they must eventually converge. With this is joined, perhaps its necessary condition, a sensitive and pure taste for all that is beautiful or lofty to sight or mind; high, though unpractised, poetical powers; and an earnest appreciation of the reverence due to holy things; even to our own higher thoughts and deeper emotions.

This itself explains why these powers and feelings, lying it seems deepest, were unknown, almost unsuspected, by more than two or three of his nearest friends. His acquaintance more readily perceived and appreciated an unusually deep and true mode of dealing with mathematical questions; a subtlety, boldness and ingenuity of reasoning, a frank and accurate apprehension of the full force of an adverse argument, and a definiteness of conception and expression which seemed to cut through an intricate question, throwing off, rather than grappling with objections, with a cleanness which one could hardly believe not to be sophistry.

But this book derives its commanding interest from the stern self-chastisement of body and mind, from which both reason and imagination receive their tone and substance. With this the *Journal* acquaints us; and there is something which really crows an ordinary reader in the unsparing steadiness with which faults are sought for, the bitter self-abasement with which they are felt, and the unrelenting determination with which they are punished; all being recorded, except when addressed to God, with a plain and sometimes contemptuous homeliness of expression, which seems as if the author wished to do dishonour to himself and his thoughts, or held that a feeling which claimed to be deep and true, should not disdain to buy, by humiliation, the privilege of utterance.

The first volume places before us, with uncommon life and depth, the ulterior growth and developement of this character, which we shall now proceed to illustrate by somewhat copious extracts. The author's character as a boy is most interestingly given in a letter written, it would seem, by his mother, in the year 1819 or 1820, when he was about seventeen, with which the volume opens. From this it will be sufficient here to extract a few lines.

“Pleasing, intelligent, and attaching, when his mind was undisturbed and he was in the company of people who treated him reasonably and kindly: but exceedingly impatient under vexatious circumstances, very

much disposed to find his own amusement in teasing and vexing others, and almost entirely incorrigible when it was necessary to reprove him ;” but “ in all points of substantial principle his feelings were just and high ; he had (for his age) an unusually deep feeling for every thing which was good and noble, his relish was lively and his taste good for all the pleasures of the imagination, and he was also quite conscious of his faults, and (*untempted*) had a just dislike to them.”—pp. 1, 2.

In 1825, in which year he took his degree, passages in his letters show the existence of those romantic views of religion which occupy so prominent a place in his character from that time forward. Of part of the intervening time he speaks often in his *Journal* with very deep contrition : but any one who observes the deep humiliation with which he confesses faults of which ordinary persons would think but little,—common indeed to all who have really high views of Christian excellence,—will be very cautious in inferring much as to the facts themselves, from this most bitter recollection of them.

The *Journal* itself may perhaps be best introduced by some letters, giving an account of the first part of the time which it records.

“ *Sept. 28th, 1826.*

“ I have been meaning to write to you every day for a long time, and I do not suppose you would wish me to be influenced in putting off longer by the sad thing we have just heard. At least, if I may judge from myself, there is so little difference between what are called real afflictions and imaginary ones, that it seems just as rational to go on in the common way when under the former as the latter. With me this last summer, both at the time, and looking back on it, seems to have gone very strangely ; and I do not see any ground why my reason should contradict my feelings, because the things which affect me are either in their nature confined to the person who feels them, or are thought trifles by people in general. I have been trying almost all the long [vacation] to discover a sort of common sense romance ; I am convinced there must be such a thing, and that nature did not give us such a high capacity for pleasure without making some other qualification for it besides delusion. But the speculation has got much more serious, and runs out into many more ramifications than I expected at first ; and it seems to me as if I might make it the main object of a long course of reading, the first step of which would be to follow your advice in learning Hebrew and reading the early Fathers. This I have determined upon doing immediately upon my return to Oxford, and the intervening space I shall pass away as I can, with I. and P. among the mountains and waterfalls. Since I wrote this in the morning I have been walking with P., whose quietness of mind makes me quite ashamed of my speculations, and I hardly like sending you this letter ; however, if I have been making myself a fool all the summer, it is better I should not go on brooding on it by myself ; for letting somebody know the state of

my thoughts is the only way of keeping them straight ; and I know no one but you who would make sufficient allowance for me to venture on such things with. Perhaps you may think it very odd, but this is the first time I have had resolution to ask for the papers which they found of my mother's after her death."—pp. 200, 201.

The writer seems to have shrunk from allowing this letter to reach his friend. In its stead the following was sent.

"I have made three attempts to write, but all of them ran off into something wild, which, upon reflection, I thought would be better kept to myself. The fact is, that I have been in a strange way all the summer, and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency. But the result has been in some respects a good one, and I have got to take very great pleasure in what you recommended to me when we were together at F., the evening before I left you our first summer, i. e. good books ; and I feel to understand places in the Psalms in a way I never used to. I go back to Oxford with a determination to set to at Hebrew and the early Fathers, and to keep myself in as strict order as I can ; a thing which I have been making ineffectual attempts at for some time, but which never once entered my head for a long time of my life. . . . .

"And now I must drop back to myself. I wish you would say any thing to me that you think would do me good, however severe it may be. You must have observed many things very contemptible in me, but I know worse of myself, and shall be prepared for any thing. I cannot help being afraid that I am still deceiving myself about my motives and feelings, and shall be glad of any thing on which to steady myself."—p. 204.

It is exceedingly interesting to trace in the Journal the actual working day by day of the feelings to which these letters refer. The following extract is in effect its opening.

"July 1, 1826.—I think it will be a better way to keep a journal for a bit, as I find I want keeping in order about more things than reading. I am in a most conceited way, besides being very ill-tempered and irritable. My thoughts wander very much at my prayers, and I feel hungry for some ideal thing, of which I have no definite idea. I sometimes fancy that the odd bothering feeling which gets possession of me is affectation, and that I appropriate it because I think it a sign of genius ; but it lasts too long, and is too disagreeable to be unreal."—p. 6.

"July 5.—I do not know how it is, but it seems to me as if the consciousness of having capacities for happiness, with no objects to gratify them, seems to grow upon me, and puts me in a dreary way. Lord have mercy upon me !"—p. 7.

These feelings continue occasionally to appear, assuming, more and more, a distinct and practical shape, till his return to Oxford in October 1826, (the period when the letters before quoted were written,) when they gave rise to the following resolutions.

"I have been coming to a resolution, that, as soon as I am out of the reach of observation, I will begin a sort of monastic austere life, and do my best to chastise myself before the Lord; that I will attend chapel regularly, eat little and plainly, drink as little wine as I can consistently with the forms of society; keep the fasts of the Church, as much as I can, without ostentation; continue to get up at six in the winter; abstain from all unnecessary expenses, in every thing; give all the money I can save in charity, or for the adorning of religion. That I will submit myself to the wishes of the —, as to one set over me by the Lord, but never give in to the will or opinion of any one from idleness or false shame, or want of spirit. That I will avoid society as much as I can, except those I can do good to, or from whom I may expect real advantage; and I will, in all my actions, endeavour to justify that high notion of my capabilities, of which I cannot divest myself. That I will avoid all conversation on serious subjects, except with those whose opinions I revere, and content myself with exercising dominion over my own mind, without trying to influence others.

"The studies which I have prescribed to myself are Hebrew and the Ante-Nicene Fathers."—p. 25.

From this time the Journal becomes much more minute and severe. Till the beginning of December, the littleness of every day are sought out, analyzed, and exposed with a painful degree of earnestness and power. Of this it would be useless, and perhaps not very desirable, to give detailed instances. The constancy and comprehensiveness of the author's self-examination can only be felt from reading the whole journal as it stands. It will be better to confine our illustrations to the progress of that one feeling round which the others seem to turn. In this point of view, a letter dated November 5, is peculiarly interesting. It expresses to the friend, by whose advice he was regulating himself, the happiness which he felt at giving up the "wretched unsatisfactory pursuit" of guiding himself by his own judgment. The same feeling is recorded in the Journal for November 4, in a passage which is short enough to be extracted.

"I felt as if I had got rid of a great weight from my mind, in having given up the notion of regulating my particular actions, by the sensible tendency I could perceive in them to bring me towards my *τὸ καλόν*. I had always a mistrust in this motive, and it seems quite a happiness to yield the discretion of myself to a higher power, who has said 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.'"—p. 37.

The following passages show a very striking kind of caution and deliberation in trusting his own romantic notions.

"Nov. 6.—I felt again to-day, as if I had been getting enthusiastic, and that the secret world of new pleasures and wishes, to which I am trying to gain admittance, is a mere fancy. I must be careful to check

high feelings ; they are certain to become offences in a day or two, and must regulate my practice by faith, and a steady imitation of great examples ; — *in hopes that by degrees, what I now have only faint and occasional glimpses of, may be the settled objects on which my imagination reposes, and that I may be literally ' hid in the presence of the Lord.'*"

—p. 39.

" Nov. 29.—I have just been shocked at hearing that ——'s acquaintance, Mr. ——, had shot himself yesterday. How strongly it reminds me that I understand little of the things invisible, which I talk and think about, when the most terrible occurrences having taken place quite close to me, affect me so little. *I could work up my feelings easily enough, but it is enthusiasm to anticipate in this way the steady effects of moral discipline, even supposing both effects are, whilst they last, the same.* I could not help crying violently just now, on reading over my mother's paper. The ideas somehow mixed up together, and forced on my thoughts, what a condition I may be in as to things unseen, and yet be unconscious of it.

" O God, keep up in my mind a feeling of true humility, suitable to my blindness and the things that I am among."—p. 56.

We extract the following philosophical reflections, taken from the Occasional Thoughts of about the same date, as similarly characteristic of the author's steady and systematic procedure.

" Dec. 1, 7, and 17.—It is the object of our lives, by patient perseverance in a course of action prescribed to us, so to shape and discipline our desires, that they may, through habit, be excited to the same degree by the objects which are presented to our *understanding*, as they would by nature, if we had *senses* to relish them ; that is, that the degree of our appetites for these objects, should so far exceed that which we feel for sensible objects, as the known value of the former exceeds that of the latter.

" The former field of existence is what I think St. Paul had in his mind when he spoke (Heb. vi. 19) of " that which is within the veil," into which Jesus Christ had gone before us. The veil signifying our unconsciousness, in spite of which, ' by two immutable things, in which it was impossible that God should lie, we might have strong consolation who have fled to lay hold of the hope set before us.' All this seems the real meaning of faith, as insisted on so much in the New Testament.

" Of the objects which we pursue or avoid, some we immediately perceive to be either present or absent ; some we only believe to be so through the intervention of the understanding. The various dispositions of our fellow-creatures towards us, are of the latter sort. We have no faculties for perceiving love or admiration ; but being conscious of the feeling ourselves, and recognizing in others the effects which we know to proceed from them, we believe their presence upon evidence, and are affected therewith. Of being in society we cannot be conscious, if by society we mean, not that of certain shapes doing certain things, but of beings which feel in some respects as we do. The existence of such beings we only believe on evidence, having observed effects like those

which proceed from our own feelings, in so many instances as to make it appear that the causes are likewise similar.

"The same sort of evidence we have of the existence of other beings, in some respects like, and in others different from ourselves.

"That a Being exists endued with power and wisdom, the limits of which we cannot reach to, is, I think, more certain than that we have fellow creatures. All men, whether they know it or not, act as if they believed in a Being endued with intelligence and power, and will superior to any interference. They count on the course of nature continuing as it is, because they know that what they have long continued to do they go on with; and rely without any doubt on its skill and ability for perfecting their undertaking where their own skill and ability fall short.

"That this Being has any other attributes, we have not the same evidence. These are the 'things within the veil;' they are *κρυπτός*, the objects of faith. But consideration will show that the difference is not in kind but in degree, and that among what we call the things visible, motives are proposed to us to be acted on, approaching to it by degrees imperceptible.

"Isa. xxv. 7, 9. 'And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. . . . And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for Him, and He will save us; this is the Lord; we have waited for him: we will be glad and rejoice in His salvation.'"—p. 86.

The Journal for Nov. 17 contains a determination to discontinue for a time the strict discipline by which the author was chastening himself, as interfering with the full discharge of his other duties, and proceeds as follows:

"Nov. 18.—I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinence and self-mortification, may, themselves, be a sort of intemperance; *a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering*. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how by denying one affection we gratify another: and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for any thing. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: *mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt*.

"Nov. 19. Having let myself loose for two days, I seem to have recovered my resolution, and feel quite ashamed of my want of patience, and inconsistency: besides, I hardly think I am at liberty now to alter resolutions I made at the beginning of the term. . . .'

"I am sure it is a good thing to act up even to injudicious resolu-



tions; to form a habit of thinking our present actions as not in our power. For we must be better judges at a distance, in general: so I pray God I may be protected from strange thoughts, and moral coils, while endeavouring to persevere."

It is very interesting to find the same date prefixed to the following extract from his *Occasional Thoughts*. And it is but one instance out of many which might be selected, of the manner in which his speculations are but expansions of his deepest feelings, very unlike the loose generalizations from a few half-examined facts, which it is so much the fashion at present to consider as the marks of genius. We have printed in italics the passage in the *Journal* which seems to have suggested these reflections.

"Nov. 18 and 22.—For whatever cause the great Author of nature contrived that resemblance (as it appears to us) which subsists between the part of His dominions, of the existence of which he has given us a consciousness, and that other part with which we are acquainted only through our understanding; it seems calculated to assist our conceptions of the one to observe what passes in the other.

"That people cannot help doing this, almost all metaphorical language is a proof, and whether this similitude is real or not, the belief that it is so may be of great service to many minds.

"The business of our life seems to be, to acquire the habit of acting in such a manner as we should do, if we were *conscious* of all we *know*; and in this respect no action of our lives can be indifferent, but must either tend to form this habit or a contrary one: so that those whose attempt to act right does not commence with their power of acting at all, have much to undo, as well as to do. *The craving, and blankness of feeling, which attends the early stages of this habit, ('show some token upon me for good,')* makes any thing acceptable which can even in fancy fill it, and it is delightful to see things turn out well, whose case seems, in some sort, to represent to us our indistinct conceptions of our own. Animals fainting under the effect of exercise, and then again recovering their strength, which that very exercise has contributed to increase; the slow and uncertain degrees in which this exercise is effected, and yet the certainty that it is effected:—the growth of trees sometimes tossed by winds and checked by frosts, yet, by the evil effects of these winds directed in what quarter to strike their roots, so as to secure themselves for the future, and by these frosts hardened and fitted for a new progress the next summer:—in things of this sort I am [altered in the MS. from 'we are'] so constituted, as to see brethren in affliction evidently making progress towards release."—p. 82.

We will close these extracts with a piece of poetry written in 1833, but singularly descriptive of that character to which his eye had been turned during the time which the *Journal* records seven years before.

## DANIEL.

"Matth. xix. 13. εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες εὐνοῦχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω.

"Son of sorrow, doomed by fate  
To lot most desolate;  
To a joyless youth and childless age,  
Last of thy father's lineage,  
Blighted being! whence hast thou  
That lofty mien and cloudless brow?  
Ask'st thou whence that cloudless brow?  
Bitter is the cup I trow;  
A cup of weary well-spent years,  
A cup of sorrows, fasts, and tears,  
That cup whose virtue can impart  
Such calmness to the troubled heart.  
Last of his father's lineage, he  
Many a night on bended knee,  
In hunger many a livelong day,  
Hath striven to cast his slough away.  
Yea, and that long prayer is granted;  
Yea, his soul is disenchanted.  
O blest above the sons of men!  
For thou with more than prophet's ken,  
Deep in the secrets of the tomb,  
Hast read thine own, thine endless doom.  
Thou by the hand of the Most High  
Art sealed for immortality.  
So may I read thy story right,  
And in my flesh so tame my spright,  
That when the mighty ones go forth,  
And from the east and from the north  
Unwilling ghosts shall gathered be,  
I in my lot may stand with thee."—p. 315.

The impression left on the mind after a first perusal of the Journal is doubtless a depressing one, both from the unhappiness which it records, and (it may be) from a fear that if we would exercise the same strict vigilance over our own hearts, or would aim at the same high mark, we might find cause for disquiet too. It is a real satisfaction to find, both at the end of the Journal, that the author considers himself to have passed into a happier state, and in his letters, that he gradually ceases to speak of his own despondency, either openly to his nearest friend, or in those half jesting hints of which his other friends must only now feel the meaning. His external demeanour, both from natural disposition and from his contempt for any display of feeling, seems always to have been so full of life and energy, that from it alone, perhaps, no change in this respect could have been inferred.

This despondency we have not attempted to show in the ex-

tracts, though it does slightly appear there; but rather his high desires to "enter within the veil," to be "hidden in the presence of the Lord," and the mode which he took to realize them. This forms a remarkable contrast with the self-confidence and unreality which too frequently springs from the consciousness of high views. It is, unfortunately, not often that we see men of bold and independent minds, subtle and comprehensive powers of reasoning, and romantic desires, giving up, till they shall be fit for it, all notion of "influencing others:" checking, without throwing aside their own high feelings, subduing, with a systematic humility, their impulses to express them, and submitting to learn their duty by the slow and common-sense process of "following great examples," "studying Hebrew and the Ante-Nicene Fathers," and in the meantime obeying scrupulously the voices of those whom they feel to be better than themselves. It is most striking to observe a mind like the author's, almost contemptuously regardless of the claims which mere number had on his acquiescence, and stubbornly unbiassed in his examination of evidence, yet prepared, on principle, to submit himself almost unlimitedly to the unproved dicta of superior goodness, or to what was, or was likely to be, the voice of Revelation; seeing at a distance, as it were, the high character which he wished to attain, yet not hastily grasping at the feelings to which he saw it would lead, but repressing his own feverish impatience, and steadily waiting for his severe moral discipline to bring forth its fruits: happy lastly, and relieved to find that he might leave off seeking his own ideal perfection in his own way, and walk safely in a road which God had provided for him, without caring to understand clearly its direction.

It would require no small portion of self-deceiving good-nature, to make a person of these habits very well pleased with the tone of Society as it is. A man of a keen and lofty mind, who is struggling to love God with all his heart and soul, and finds the difficulty of doing so, though he may enter with ever so much readiness into amusements *professedly* trifling, and cordially acquiesce in the *omission* of religious subjects in general society, yet when high subjects are brought forward, cannot but be indignant and disgusted at the avowed selfishness, the flippant unmeaning carelessness of right and wrong, of religion and irreligion, which one finds not only admitted, but daring to take a tone of superiority there. Such broad facts as these, that even among many respectable men, it should be a confessed dishonour to have borne an insult patiently, none to be living a licentious life,—their unscrupulousness as to the men with whom they associate—the secular view which is taken of religious services, particularly the ordinary cathedral service—the masses who neglect the Com-

munion, and the nature of the reasons they give for so doing; these and the like are too often commented upon to need repetition. A short passage will show the view of things which was forced on the author by what he saw around him. On Hos. iv. 11, he observes, p. 138, "I suppose really abstinent self-denying people cannot conceive how it is possible for any one to divest *himself so entirely of the fear of God, as the generality seem to have done*. But a life alternating with mortification and indulgence (if it affects other people as it does me) might convince any one how easy it is to lose himself, how the distant prospect is made dim, and the heart taken away by present ease and satiety."

This, perhaps, Scripture would have taught him to expect—that he should find in the World not sympathy, but a field for exertion. But Scripture must have also taught him to look for some bold antagonist system to all this levity and worldliness; to seek in the Church an army, small perhaps, but united, organized, uncompromising, and proselytizing, whose noble attitude and words of high authority, scarce imitated by the crowds around them, would be almost at once his guarantee for joining their warfare and trusting their guidance. Would he find this in the Church of England?

Partly he would: he would find an active and pervading system whose existence and essential purity had been almost incredibly preserved through as grievous perils as the power or policy of men could well raise against it. He would find in it much of scattered energy, love, piety, and disinterestedness: he would find high names, and honour paid them. But it is more to our present purpose to turn to what he would *not* find. He would not find *authority*.

A candid reader of the 5th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, can scarcely infer less from it than this, that it is a disgrace to any Christian community not to exercise within itself an authority of formally punishing all vice *as such*. In that particular case, the body of the Church, "when they are gathered together," exercise this power, at the indignant command of St. Paul. In England the Church has long ceased, as a Church, to do so; the reason, we believe, being, that the State having become Christian, has taken her place in that respect. Passing by the question whether, under any circumstances, the Church could so transfer her duties, is it true that the State has received them?

In theory, whatever a few more old-fashioned individuals may think, the civil power itself disclaims the notion. The popular idea, and that received among statesmen who administer and frame our laws, is, that vice is not punished as *wicked*, but as *pernicious*. The question is not what is the religious notion of

civil punishment, but what is the received one; not what the English State ought to do, but what it does. And certainly it is almost universally understood to put forward, as its ultimate object, not the purification of a people to the Lord, but the defence of its people's rights, and the increase of their comforts. The Church is laying down what the State does not affect to take up. *The state, offence, self - God -*

It may be answered, that the prevalence of a theory among any number of individuals, even though legislators, does not imply its real adoption by the nation. This is worth considering, if the national practice, that is, the recognized law of the land, contradicts the popular notion. But what is the case? A number of instances will occur, when one is suggested, where a grievous crime is only recognized by the law as a civil injury. Take then for this one the case of the very man whom St. Paul commands the Corinthians "to deliver to Satan for the destruction of the flesh;" to what inconvenience would he be subjected by the English law. Principally this, that if he wished his property to descend to his children, he must be at the trouble of making a will; and that entailed property would not descend to them at all. Other punishment is left to the good sense and feeling of individuals. This would scarce seem likely to satisfy the Apostle.

This is one example of what is but an example itself. In our Church's teaching of truth, in its condemnation of error, in its assertion of its own spiritual powers and privileges, its warnings against rash interference even with its temporal ones, there would surely be something to disappoint those who had heard their duty in the deep bold tones of Scripture and antiquity.

Certainly so felt the author of these Remains; but another obstacle to his being satisfied with the practical working of our Church lay in those very high, half mystical desires to see and feel God in every thing, to which we have already alluded.

Part of our national character is certainly an uncommon contempt for feelings feigned or unduly excited; for unreality or false sentiment. Of this the English Church, wound up as all orders of it are with the nation, largely partakes. And certainly it has very many happy results which the author would have been the last to deny. Few men could have had a keener instinctive perception of any approach to pompousness or affectation; few, perhaps, were more able and willing to place it in its proper point of view, whether found in themselves or in others; few more ready to try high-sounding theories by practical tests; to ask what they meant when translated into common sense? what came of them? But all this did not interfere with his deep apprehension of the truth, that, after all, things visible *are* unsatisfying, that all on which our affections ought steadily to repose

is invisible, and that the realization of this is one of the three great and necessary Christian virtues. Nor did it reconcile him to a line of teaching not uncommon in the English Church, which seems so afraid of the profanity of unfruitful feeling and talking, that it will not supply a religious mind with those objects for which its affections crave: will only inform it of its duties, without allowing it to dwell on the nature and means of that communion with God which is the reward and life of well-doing. This forms so essential a feature in the author's character, that it may be worth while entering upon it at some length.

Now what is the nature of man in this respect? What is the meaning of the readiness with which wonders are credited and dwelt on by the common sort of people? of the fondness which we all have for stories of ghosts and witchcraft, even when we do not believe them; for fairy tales and romances, for any thing, in short, *marvellous*, independent, that is, of the ordinary laws of the visible world? Surely the least that this shows is that God has made us such as to be unsatisfied with the outsides of things, with mere physical and moral phenomena and their classifications. When we do not find a more immaterial system made to our hands, or sufficiently extensive to embrace all that we would have included in it, we coin one for ourselves, and look at it with interest, as a beautiful shadow of what we want, even when we do not attempt to persuade ourselves that it is.

Nor is this strange: the whole constitution of the physical world forces it upon us. All is magnificent promise, unsubstantial and encouraging. Is there not something very strange and pregnant in the mere fact that an assemblage of lifeless, senseless atoms should be enabled to excite in moral beings those apprehensions of beauty and sublimity with which the physical world doubtless does overpower us? Can these apprehensions be more, or can they be less than indications of great spiritual truths; a temporary and arbitrary system for training our minds to receive notions which are as yet beyond us? They are surely too noble to be more; too baseless to be less.

Again, what avenues of speculation does the animal kingdom open to us! We find ourselves surrounded by tribes of beings, grotesquely caricaturing or touchingly emblematic of fragments of our own moral character and condition; some vain, gross, stupid, or malevolent; others sagacious, persevering, brave, and disinterested. Each class (if we may believe those who have most studied their habits) including within itself, almost as marked varieties of temper and capability as the human race itself, but each bound immovably by an inherited nature within a certain magic circle of evil or good. Our own feelings seem to tell us that some of these are worthy of our attachment and admiration, yet

civilized nations, by a kind of unaccountable instinct, seem to have settled that they are not responsible: if they truly are not, how and why is this strange unreal vision of good and evil put before us? if they are, of what mighty and unthought-of system must they be the outskirts? Surely the commonest analysis of our every-day feelings drives us into what is ordinarily set down as mysticism, or superstition, or both. All nature seems to invite our affections but to reject them, and to testify of a greater system which is behind.

And even with our fellow men—are they adequate objects for our thoughts and affections? Practically, it is a plain matter of fact, that they are not. How are our affections and sympathies broken up and given away in fragments? We do not trust our whole heart to our nearest friend. We give part of our confidence to one man, part to another: we cannot give more, and should be stared at if we tried. When we wish really to sympathise with another's deep feelings, or to explain our own, how hopelessly do we fall short; and by what a chance does it seem to be that we succeed at all. Those burnings of the heart which we occasionally experience, on having sure signs that others do thoroughly feel what we do, or when a great system opens upon us, or when one whom we love performs a noble action, or when one whom we revere shows us unexpected affection, at once show us the emptiness of our ordinary sympathies, and are earnest of something greater. Such passing emotions betray to us capacities for a state of habitual feeling in which must be the highest happiness, and which we are as yet as unable and unworthy to feel as our friends are to excite. Is it conceivable that this union of high capability with actual unworthiness should be meant merely to point us forward to a future life? Surely, rather it sanctions those present desires which it causes, that blind craving after the supernatural, that worshipping of the unknown God, of which the highest and the lowest minds give common witness.

All this seems to justify us at least in demanding this, that if there is a revealed system calculated in every respect to meet those wants which are forced upon us by the natural one, it shall not be timidly kept back or mutilated, but that along with the duties shall be taught all that gives life and hope and happiness to their performance. And it would justify us in *expecting*, that if the cautious policy were pursued, the policy of not denying nor yet teaching, or, if teaching, doing so as if armed for controversy, in syllogisms and formulæ, always beginning from the beginning, and never daring to assume or expand what we believe ourselves, and say that all Christians ought to believe, that then men of more quiet and docile tempers indeed would submit themselves pa-

tiently, and would gain their own reward in acting on and propagating all that they did receive ; but that more active and ardent minds (who ought to form the great strength of the Church) would feel certain that they had not the whole truth put before them, and would think themselves authorized by that certainty to take their own training into their own hands, and seek it freely as they could for themselves in history, in the Bible, or in their own speculations. Ceasing to feel themselves scholars, they would be only too likely to deliver themselves wholly to the one exciting truth which first really met their wants ; and perhaps despise, and teach others to despise, as interfering with it, all that system of which it was in reality but one side or member. In other words, would become schismatics and heresiarchs. Have these expectations been realized or not in the history of the English Church for the last 150 years ? Numbers of earnest men, within and without, certainly *have* come to despise our ancient spirit ; and our disinclination frankly to blame them seems to allow that our own backwardness has led them to do so.

Now what is the system (if we would be but too true to ourselves), not which the Bible contains, not which the early Church taught, nor which is scattered in the works of our loftier divines, but which our very formularies imply. Let us contrast a few instances of a tone of teaching certainly not uncommon amongst us, and that which the Prayer Book almost necessarily presupposes.

Take the subject of inspiration, in connection with the human intellect generally. The apostles, we are often told, were commissioned to reveal a system from God, and supernaturally guided into all truth for that purpose ; but with the age of the apostles, inspiration ceased, and we, as fallible men, must be content to arrive at truth by the humble and candid use of those powers of intellect which God has given to guide us. Hence follows the heavy responsibility which lies on all of us, of seeking divine truth with humility, candour, and industry ; and on this, perhaps, is built a course of useful and sensible cautions. *All* this is in a sense true, and most necessary to be insisted on. But there is another way of viewing it.

The collects in the Prayer Book imply, what indeed no Christian would question, the constant presence of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of all Christians, suggesting thoughts and desires : and the Homilies ascribe directly to God expressions in books, of which the English Church refuses to assert the infallibility. Why then do we shrink from allowing in so many words, that as in the Jewish, so more fully in the Christian Church, there is, and has been always, a system of inspiration going on, of which we can-



not presume to define the extent? So far as we feel certain of their depth and truth, why are we forbidden to feel for those Christian authors, whom we most love and obey, all that the Homily expresses of the prophet Baruch? Without interfering with the superior and universal inspiration of Scripture, what an awful light does this throw on our treatment of our own thoughts; on all serious conversation; on disrespect shown to the suggestions of good men! This is exactly the way in which some men wish to view every thing, and because they are not encouraged to do so by us, they join our adversaries. Why do we drive them from us? Are these bolder forms of statement irrational? That would scarcely be said. No one will pretend to maintain either that his own will always excites thoughts in his mind, or that he can discover any unvarying law by which external objects do so. Are they unscriptural? The Jewish prophets speak of the days in which we live as blessed by a peculiar presence of the Lord. Their own Church was scarcely ever without its accredited messengers from heaven. Must we, of whose state their privileges were but the shadow, speak as if for 1700 years the voice of God had been silent amongst us? Are they contrary to antiquity? The early Fathers held the comfortable doctrine, that even heathenism was not without its share of divine suggestions, that even Socrates and Plato were unconsciously guided not only to instruct their own age, but to plant in the minds of men notions which were to ripen in Christianity. Will they foster rashness and presumption? Any doctrine may be misused to any purpose, but one does not expect a man to be made rash by feeling strongly that any given thought of his heart may be from God, may be from the devil.

Again, as to the world of spiritual beings, angels, and those who are dead in Christ. The ordinary way of speaking is, that it is better not to dwell on what God has left uncertain. This, perhaps, is rather a loose way of ruling the question. However, has God left it uncertain? St. Paul surely neither thought so himself, nor contemplated the possibility of others thinking so, when he spoke of the apostles as a spectacle to angels and to men, of the Church's wrestling not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*. He considered this world as a theatre of war between good and evil spirits, and made this knowledge a *practical principle*, just what we, on system, avoid. What does the Prayer Book say? On St. Michael's day we pray God for the succour and defence of His holy angels. And our attention is directed, not only to parts of Scripture which tell us of the "war in heaven," and *extraordinary* angelic interferences in earthly matters, but to others which, as

so selected, must imply that individual angels have *ordinarily* under their charge the affairs of particular nations (Dan. x.) and of individuals (Matt. xviii. 10). And as to those who are "with Christ," arguments doubtless have been raised concerning their state, not however because Scripture *is silent*, but because it *appears contradictory*; from which no intention can possibly be inferred that the truth, whatever it is, should remain unpractical. The Burial Service pronounces that the "spirits of the just" are "with God in joy and felicity;" and the Communion of Saints is one of those things in which every day "the Holy Church throughout the world" acknowledges the Almighty. If we know that those whom we love most are in this joy, is there any thing so unholy in hoping that God is ever increasing it upon them; that they think of us, and continue for us those prayers which they made on earth? This surely is not an incredibly close communion. And is God such a hard Father that we should not express those hopes to him? Farther, if there is no *positive command* in Scripture against dwelling on mere possibilities, what greater aid is there towards realizing the certain presence of Him whom we have not seen, what more analogous to his ordinary mode of training us, than the feeling that our secrecy may be watched by these dear and holy friends whom we have. "But," it will be instantly cried, "this leads us straight to the worst parts of Romanism." If these affections are true, and we will guard the rest of our conduct, they can but lead us right. It is hard, indeed, to be forbidden the exercise of our most purifying feelings because others have perverted them.

These instances may serve as illustrations of a contrast between the Prayer Book and our common mode of dealing with it, which might be carried very far. The Prayer Book recognizes in its rubrics a state of excommunication, in its prayers absolution, the bishop's power of ordination, and, last and greatest, the mystical virtue of the Sacraments. These doctrines have lain, like seeds, in our Ritual unexpanded and undwelt on, till we have too generally forgotten that they are living truths. Some fret under them and wish them altered; others modify and explain them away, as unconnected anomalies. And even of those who hold them dear, too many treat them like deep questions fit only for learned discussion, not as expressions of what should be the habitual energies of the Church; the natural exercise of those unearthly powers which Christ has entrusted to her who, in words which we should tremble to use if they were not in Scripture, "is His body, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all." Surely those scattered words have yet their destinies to fulfil, and when the Church will but give them breath, will awaken and concentrate, as they have

done in worse times, energies and talents and holiness, that the rulers of earth little think of.

The volume before us touches the magic keys with a bold hand, and though some of the notes which come forth are rather startling, and may be untruly struck, yet there is a meaning in them which deserves to be analysed by those defenders of the English Church who are looking about for weapons to wield, and ground to stand on.

Two principal wants then the author seems to have felt in the English Church—authority and richness; and that not in the spirit of a dreaming philosopher, but of one who knew that we were here not to think only, but to act; that evil was given us that we might strive against it, truth that we might uphold or restore it, revelation and moral instincts that we might know both one and the other, talent and energy, that we might form projects, recommend and execute them. Nor would the restraints he set on his impulses to influence others, till circumstances and a conscious fitness should call him to it, make him likely to shrink from his task when he felt it given him. He seems early to have thought that his powers would enable him to serve the Church more effectually as a reader and writer, than as a parochial clergyman: by acting on those minds which are to guide the masses, than on the masses themselves. To this his position as College Fellow, seemed also to invite him; and the following extracts illustrate part of the spirit in which he devoted himself to this task, and the tastes he sacrificed to it.

“*July 27, 1827.*—What is home, you silly, silly, wight,  
 That it seems to you to shine so bright?  
 What is home?—’Tis a place so gay,  
 Where the birds are singing all the day;  
 Where a wood is close by, and a river dear,  
 And the banks they sleep in the water clear;  
 Where the roses are red and the lilies pale,  
 And the little brooks run along every vale.  
 Is it no where but home, you silly-billee,  
 That the thrushes sing in each shady tree?  
 That the woods are deep, and the rivers too,  
 And the roses and lilies laugh at you?  
 O there are thousands of places as well,  
 So be quiet, I pray, and no nonsense tell.  
 Oh yes, but faces of kindness are there,  
 Which brighten the flowers and freshen the air;  
 Sweetly at morn our eyes do rest  
 On those whom waking thoughts have blest,  
 And, guarded in sleep by a magic spell,  
 O’er which ‘Good nights’ are sentinel.

Is then kindness so dainty a flower,  
That it grows alone in one chosen bower?  
Hast thou not many a brother dear,  
With thee to hope, and with thee to fear?  
Owning a common Father's aid,  
Resting alike in a common shade?

Yes, friends may be kind, and vales may be green,  
And brooks may sparkle along between;  
But it is not Friendship's kindest look,  
Nor loveliest vale, nor clearest brook,  
That can tell the tale which is written for me  
On each old face and well-known tree."

"*July 28.*—This stagnant effusion was enough for one day, and I must not put off any longer," &c.—p. 215.

"*Sept. 9, 1832.*—Also I am getting to be a sawney and not to like the dreary prospects which you and I have proposed to ourselves. But this is only a feeling; depend upon it, I will not shrink, if I buy my constancy at the expense of a permanent separation from home."

"*Sept. 27.*—As to my sawney feelings, I own that home does make me a sawney, and that the first eclogue runs in my head absurdly; but there is more in the prospect of becoming an ecclesiastical agitator, than in—"at nos hinc alii," &c.—p. 258.

And this introduces us to a side of his character, on which we have as yet scarcely touched—the fertility, buoyancy, boldness, and versatility of his mind. It has been left unnoticed, partly because no one who was ever so little acquainted with the author, or who would read ever so cursorily the book before us, could well overlook it, partly because the peculiarities on which we have dwelt seem to have exercised a far deeper influence in making him what he was. Both the *Journal* and the *Occasional Thoughts*, though principally interesting as showing the processes by which his character and opinions formed themselves, and the depth of thought and determination of purpose on which they were based, cannot but in part show those too; but in the *Letters* we are flooded with the pointed suggestions, the bold historical views of a keen-sighted politician, the vigorous statements and earnest queries of one who was seeking and contending for divine truth, and the ingenious hints, on questions of taste or science, of a man of genius who thought nothing unworthy to employ his powers which could be pressed into the service of religion. It is hardly in the nature of extracts to show this adequately, but we should be giving a very one-sided view of the author's character, if we did not give one or two examples of what he was to his friends, with which we shall close our extracts.

"*Dec. 6, 1825.*—'Sir, my dear friend,' you cannot tell how much I am obliged to you for your benevolence to my last letter, but

that does not make me the less a fool for having expressed myself so ; and what provokes me most of all is, that I did not give myself fair play by not writing till my opinions had settled ; for as far as my memory goes, I think they are now undergoing a revolution, and that if I were to see the poetry in question again, I should think quite differently of it. There is something about them which leaves (to use the words of our friend Tom Moore)

‘ A sad remembrance fondly kept  
When all lighter thoughts are faded.’

And though I cannot account for the fact, I have been much more sensible of this since a reperusal of Genesis.

“ I wrote the foregoing not long after the receipt of your letter, but have been such a dandle, that I have not been able to collect materials for finishing it : and the circumstance which now at last helps me out is a melancholy one, no other than the decease of our friend and companion *Johnny Raw* : who was taken off some days since in the staggers. There was something peculiarly doleful in the poor fellow’s exit ; and there was a sort of dreariness diffused over all its circumstances, which set it off with almost a theatrical effect. As B. says, it would have not been so much if he had wasted away by a long illness, or if we had heard of his death at a distance ; but to have been using and admiring him till within a few days of his decease, to have watched all the stages of his rapid illness, seen him bled, given him his physic, which seemed to distress him very much, though all the pain he suffered was evidently very great ; and, after all, to have got up at two o’clock in the night, when the crisis was to take place, and come into the stable only a minute after his death, where we could just see him, by lantern light, stretched out on the straw :—were incidents not calculated to excite pleasure. Add to this, it was one of those shivering cold stormy nights which make me feel as if I and the people with me were the only human beings in the world : a fact, by the by, which I am not yet sufficient psychologist to account for. And the next day, when we went out to bury him, the weather was just the same, and there was nothing to excite one cheerful association. Also it was somewhat staggering to the speculatively inclined, not to be able to discover one single reason why he should not be able to gallop about as well as ever. He was evidently in good condition, his flesh hard, and his limbs sound,—and why I should be able to walk any better than he was more than I could elicit. We buried him under an elm tree in the lawn, and nailed his shoes to it for a monument.

“ The last Quarterly has just . . . been put into my hands, and seeing an article on Milton’s newly published affair, . . . I looked greedily for a final demolisher to his fame. Guess my horror at finding him *in limine* styled ‘ the great religious poet of the Christian world.’ I did not expect this from the worthy editor, ἅλλως τε καὶ, who had admitted into his last number an expression equivalent to this, that ‘ considering the wretched ἥθος that developed itself in every part of his compositions, it was to be regretted that even a person of Milton’s talent

should have undertaken a religious subject.' You will find this in an article on Sacred Poetry. I was so disgusted at this gross inconsistency, which was even aggravated by subsequent expressions, that I could not read it through."—pp. 186—188.

The next letter is written nine years later, from Barbadoes, where the author was staying for his health; part of it is very characteristic of the author's light and playful mode of treating his own serious feelings and purposes. The letters immediately before and after it in the volume, complain with some reproachfulness, of not having heard of his Oxford friends for near a year.

"October, 1834.—I wish I knew Horace's receipt for giving the sound of a swan to mute fishes, and I most certainly should administer you a dose. I know you must have a great deal on your hands, so I should be contented with extracting only two pages in as big a hand as an idle undergraduate's theme: but I really do wish to hear something of you. . . . Concerning your worship's self, I have been able to collect that you were in existence on or about the 12th of June last. . . .

"——'s death was a great surprise to me, and I may almost say a shock, as I had always looked to him to do something great for us. . . . Do you know I partly fear that you and —— and —— are going to back out of the conspiracy, and leave me and —— to our fate. I mean to ally myself to him in a close league, and put as much mischief into his head as I can. He has sent me a great many of his pamphlets, &c., which I admire greatly for their *ῥητορ* and execution; and I have written back to him, pointing out wherein I think him too conservative.

"I have written to —— by this post, telling how I am, *i. e.* much as I have been for the last six months; so I shall not go into details over again. I really think this illness is being a good thing for me; to be out of the way of excitement does more good to myself than I could do to others by being in it; and I don't know that it does one any harm to have the impression brought seriously before one, that one is not to see out the changes which seem to be at hand. I don't think I have any good ground for apprehension; but it sometimes comes into my head that . . . the pertinacity of my trifling disorder looks as if I had not much stamina left."—pp. 377, 378.

From what has been already said, some general notion may be gained of the author's formal opinions. It may be added, that he was one of those who, feeling strongly the inadequacy of their own intellects to guide them to religious truth, are prepared to throw themselves unreservedly on Revelation wherever found, in Scripture or Antiquity. Any more definite account it would be difficult to give without unfairness either to the author or to the reader; to the reader, if we omitted his more startling views; to the author, if we stated them detached and unsupported. His letters seem to show that his opinions ran somewhat in advance of those to whom he was most closely bound, still less should *we*

venture to pledge ourselves to every statement and suggestion contained in the two volumes; yet we cannot but express our hope that they will be very generally read and weighed, as likely to suggest thoughts on doctrine, on Church policy, and on individual conduct, most true, and most necessary for these times.

The respite from vigorous attack, which the Church seems likely, under the shadow of Conservatism, to enjoy, seems like an appointed season for looking over our armouries, adjusting our position, and throwing out fresh defences in place of those political ones which the last flood has swept away. And a thoughtful person who will fairly consider, on the one hand, the increasing importance of liberal movements for the last 150 years, the accidents (if we may call them so) which have concurred to produce the present conservative reaction, and the character of many who for the moment are swelling the cry of "the Church is in danger;" on the other, the spirit of eager inquiry on religious subjects, of anxiety to improve our fellow men, and strengthen the Church's hands, which certainly is now abroad, will hardly say that we have much time to lose, or that it is unseasonable to call attention to such a bold and comprehensive sketch for a new position as is in this book presented to him.

ART. XII.—*Travels in Crete*. By R. Pashley, Esq., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Cambridge, at the Pitt Press, J. W. Parker, Printer to the University. 1837.

MR. Pashley's preface informs us that he "spent the spring and summer of the year 1833 in the Ionian islands, Albania and Greece; its autumn in some of the north-western parts of Asia Minor and at Constantinople; and the two following months at Malta." In February, 1834, he visited Crete, where he remained until the beginning of September. When he set his foot on its shores he was qualified far beyond the ordinary run of travellers, by his acquaintance both with the ancient literature of Greece, and with its modern language; and his, accordingly, is no ordinary book of travels. He seems to have prepared himself by arranging almost every scattered remnant of information which antiquity affords on the subject of Cretan geography, and his diligence was rewarded with discoveries so numerous, that future writers will probably draw more largely from his stores than from those of any other modern traveller. Of this the reader may satisfy himself by a comparison of his map with those of former geographers, while a more minute examination will, we think, prove that it

excels in accuracy no less than in fulness. As an example, we would refer our readers to the argument by which he establishes the site which he assigns (against former authorities) to the ancient city of Aptera.

Many interesting historical fragments are interspersed. Mr. Pashley devoted some time, on his homeward route, to the libraries of Venice; and melancholy indeed is his confirmation of the thrice-told tale of her colonial oppression.\* Subsequent events however have effaced the memory of Venetian misrule. The deluge of the Ottoman armies has swept over this devoted island, and our author states it as an admitted fact, that for a century and a half it was oppressed beyond the experience of any other Turkish province. And yet, going on from bad to worse, the unexampled misery of the revolutionary war has taught the Cretan peasant to designate the period of Turkish tyranny as "the good old time."† There is little reason to hope that the tragedy is even yet concluded. Without entering into the prospects of the Greek nation at large, we can anticipate little good for Crete, which, after having been left to achieve its own liberation, unaided by European arms, has been consigned by European diplomacy to the iron grasp of the Egyptian Pasha—a man, civilized indeed, if the love of steam, and factories, and European military tactics, be civilization: but in every just sense of the word, as Crete has already bitterly experienced, a most heartless barbarian. We view this subject with a melancholy interest, which we cannot but feel in all that regards the prospects of a nation to which we are bound by ties not earthly but heavenly, as to our brethren in the Church Catholic, our "companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ."

Whatever may be to follow, the iron has already entered deeply into their soul. Whole villages of widows and children, without one adult male inhabitant—large districts, naturally rich, and lately cultivated, but now desolate wastes—such are the physical effects of the war. And yet this is the least part of the actual evil. The moral effect of such a contest on the survivors, both Christian and Mahometan—this is a calamity to be estimated by those alone who have entered into the full meaning of the Divine sentence, that "blood defileth the land," and who have read in the history of the world the effects of national sin in national degradation. As an illustration, we extract an average example of the manner in which both parties prosecuted the war.

"My (Christian) host here said, that 'two or three days after their

\* It is painful to learn that Father Paul represents these abuses as a laudable trait colonial policy.—See vol. ii. p. 297.

† Τὸν καλὸν καιρὸν.



great victory, a Mohammedan came here and fell on his knees, a few paces from my door, imploring a draught of water.' 'And what did you do?' 'I took my tufek (*i. e.* musket) and shot him.'—vol. ii. p. 174.

On the other hand, we are told, that long before this event, and in fact as soon as the news of the Greek insurrection on the continent had reached Crete, which was then tranquil, a party of Mahommetans surprised the peaceful inhabitants of a Christian village in church on the morning of Good Friday, and shot all the men, with the exception of one or two who effected their escape. Such was war between the Greeks and Turks of Crete.

Justice demanded the acknowledgment of Mr. Pashley's learning, and his historical and antiquarian researches. We shall say no more, however, on subjects so little connected with our peculiar province, and shall only express in passing our surprise that so learned a writer should adopt a style of pedantry which we are wont to find only in such as have picked up a few Greek words, and are resolved to make the most of them. If he had thought fit to compose his work in Greek, whether ancient or modern, no one of course could have questioned his right as a freeborn Englishman, but having waived this right and adopted the vulgar tongue, what does he gain by writing Zeus, Hephaistos, Aléxandhros, Dhemetrio, and Manulios, or yet more uncouth expressions, as the convent of Haghíá Triadhá, the church of Haghios Gheórggios, and, most absurd of all, a "pyrgo" for a tower, an "anagnostes" for a reader, and "Haghio Pavlo" for St. Paul?

Beyond the mere details of facts, Mr. Pashley has given us nothing of interest. It may seem almost incredible, but it is literally true, that no one glowing imagination, no one thought more suited to the soil of Greece than to the marshes of the Isle of Ely, seems to have been kindled in his mind, either by the natural beauties or by the recollections, mythological, historical, or ecclesiastical, of this most interesting island. This is no slight loss to the reader, because such subjects can be treated aright only by a mind capable of sympathy with them. The impression which they produce through the medium of a mind which delights chiefly in gross and sensual images, and receives with a sneer all that is severe and exalted, is as far from the truth, as when the imagination of a more congenial observer has invested them with a glow not their own, but borrowed from the sunshine of his own breast. Accordingly, the reader must expect to find in these volumes, not the imaginative creations of antiquity, nor the actors on the scene of history, sacred or profane, but the projection cast by these objects on the dead level of the author's mind. Still, although utterly disqualified to elevate and refine the mind of his readers by communicating his own impressions,

Mr. Pashley is, unfortunately, by no means contented to confine himself to the region in which he might be useful, as a collector of facts. A very large portion of his work is occupied by protracted discussions on the religion and superstitions of the Greek and Turkish population, which serve him as an occasion for telling us all that he has ever heard or read apparently on these subjects in every country and every age.\* It is unfortunate that he should have had no friend to suggest that an author does not always shine most in treating the subjects which he chiefly delights to handle. Circumstances, it seems, compelled him to shorten the original plan of his work; and he has done it by omitting altogether his account of a very large portion of the island, including a great number of those sites where his map indicates the existence of ancient ruins; but he retains with scrupulous care his numberless discussions, which are for the most part tedious, foolish, and grossly unbecoming, and in general wholly unconnected with his subject.

It is specially to be lamented that our author should thus have enlarged upon religious questions, because it is but too evident, that he left England as ill prepared to estimate them aright as he was well furnished with classical and geographical knowledge. The benefit to be derived from foreign travel is allowed to depend chiefly on the employment of time at home, and Mr. Pashley, both in his merits and his defects, strikingly exemplifies the remark. If he had carried with him only a schoolboy's stock of classical knowledge, and more especially, if he had added an overweening confidence in his own attainments, and an ignorant and vulgar contempt of ancient literature and art, his remarks on these subjects would have possessed small value, and yet he was less qualified, both morally and intellectually, to conduct researches into church matters, than most school-boys to investigate ancient ruins and inscriptions.

It is probably in great measure this want of qualification which leads him to assume the air of an infallible judge in controversies of both faith and practice. The following extract will afford some indication of his manner.

“In Spain,” he tells us, “(after the Saracen conquest) the apostacy

\* In reading Mr. Pashley's sneers against Oriental Christians, it is difficult not to imagine that he intends his ridicule to reach others not mentioned, but with whom his readers would naturally be more familiar. We were strongly reminded of the exquisite satire of Swift, in his “Abstract of Mr. Collins's Discourse.” “Cicero was so noble a free-thinker that he believed nothing at all of the matter, nor even shows the least inclination to favour superstition, or the belief of a God, and the immortality of the soul; unless what he throws out sometimes to save himself from danger, in his speeches to the Roman mob, whose religion was, however, much more innocent and less absurd than that of Popery at least; and I could say more—but you understand me.”

soon became general, though\* for a while longer members of the sacerdotal order were still found who professed Christianity, using, however, the *Mozarabic* Liturgy, and, like many of the so-called Christians of their day, conforming to the most important ceremonial observances of Islamism.”—vol. i. p. 104.

It is plain enough (though ingenuity may very likely explain it otherwise), that the author imagined that the *Mozarabic* Liturgy, the use of which he cites in italics as a proof of demi-apostacy, was either of Arabian origin, or at least so tinctured with Arabian rites, as to belong rather to Islamism than to the Gospel. Now what are the facts? It is none other than the ancient Liturgy of the Spanish Church, and is known to have been in use at least very long before the birth of Mahomet. How much greater its antiquity may be, there is no occasion to examine at large; suffice it to say that many, and those the most competent judges, have identified it with the form provided for the use of the Ephesian Church by the beloved Apostle St. John; and in the opinion of one who had obviously devoted profound attention to the subject, “it may perhaps be said without exaggeration that, next to the Holy Scriptures,” this with three other Liturgies of similar antiquity, possesses “the greatest claims on our veneration and study.”—Such is the Liturgy which our author (misled apparently by its name), supposes to afford proof of the apostacy of those who adhered to it; and such the Divine, whose “ipse dixit” is to be our authority on intricate theological questions.†

It is one of these questions, whether or not the Greek Church acknowledges the dogma of Transubstantiation; a controversy of considerable moment, for if this be a new and strange doctrine to the Greek Christians, it can be no Catholic tradition, but at best

\* Mr. Pashley's expression is ambiguous, but implied that they were found only “for a while.” For this insinuation there is not the slightest colour. Spain was conquered A.D. 711. In a note of Gibbon, vol. ix. chap. 41, he mentions the translation of the canons into Arabic in A.D. 1039, “a while later,” “for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms,” a fact which proves that they held their paternal faith with a firmer grasp than their mother tongue.

† The reader will find a full account of this subject in Mr. Palmer's invaluable *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i. sect. ix. and x. The history of this ancient Liturgy as recorded by Mr. Palmer, is remarkable. It is found in very early times in the churches in the South of France, whither it appears to have been brought by the Oriental missionaries, by whom the Church of Lyons was founded. Here it prevailed till the age of Charlemagne, when it was supplanted by the Roman form. Meanwhile however, an offshoot of the Gallic Church had taken root in Spain, where its Liturgy continued in use till near the end of the eleventh century, when, by the Papal interest, the Roman rite now prevailing there was substituted for it. Yet at that very era, it was pronounced to be orthodox by an Italian council, that of Mantua, A.D. 1064: and it was so highly valued by the great Ximenes, that he founded a college and chapel to perpetuate its use, which, so far as we know, is maintained there to this day.

Some very interesting observations on this subject will be found in the *Tracts for the Times*, vol. 2, no. 63.

a private opinion of the Roman Church. We expect to see our author quoted by Romanists as a learned Protestant authority : for he not only concedes to the Latin Church their monstrous usurpation of the exclusive right to the Catholic\* name, but pronounces *ex cathedrâ* the Catholicity of the doctrine in question, chiefly as it appears on the authority of a blasphemy which he heard from a drunken Turk (vol. i. p. 316), no unfit witness unquestionably in any theological controversy whereon Mr. Pashley was qualified to sit as judge. As, however, some readers may be disposed to impugn alike the authority of the judge and the credibility of his witness, they will not, we think, complain if we transcribe the opinion delivered in this matter by another English layman, who deemed it worthy of more serious inquiry, and whose conclusion is somewhat different.

“It hath been,” says Ricault, (in his “Present State of the Greek Church, A.D. 1678”), “a question very dubitable, and not meanly controverted, what side the Greek Church hath maintained in this dispute. For if you will believe Cyrillus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the 17th article of his confession of faith, wrote about the year 1630, and printed 1633, his sense and words are wholly agreeable to the tenets of the reformed churches in this particular; from which those whose education is purely of the Greek literature, instructed and taught in their own monasteries, do not seem much to deviate; for when they carry this Sacrament to the sick, they do not prostrate themselves before it, nor do they expose it publicly to be adored, unless in the very act of administration; nor do they carry it in procession, nor have they instituted any particular feast in honour of it, all which are arguments, that had this belief of Transubstantiation been agreeable to the faith of the ancient eastern councils, they would not have been less careful in ordaining those particular notes of honour in the administration than the Western have done. However, such as have had their education in Italy, as he who wrote the Oriental confession, together with those who subscribed it, seemed to concur wholly with the Church of Rome in this tenet, ‘Ὁπῆ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀγιάζει τὰ δῶρα, ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσία τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ οἴνου, μεταβάλλεται εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ: that is, When the priest consecrates the elements, the very substance of the bread and wine is transformed into the true substance of the body and blood of Christ. And a little farther they proceed in these words: ἡ μετουσίωσις παρενθὺς γίνεται, καὶ ἀλλάσσει ὁ

\* It is probable that he had always been wont to apply this name to the Romanists in England and elsewhere, in itself no proof of his fitness to write on the subjects which he has ventured to handle. But he should at least have conceded to the Greeks the name which they universally claim, even if in his mind Catholic be so opposed to Protestant, as to mean “unreformed,” for when was the Greek reformation?

ἄρτος εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ οἶνος εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν αἷμα ἀπομένονται μόνον τὰ εἶδη ὅπου φαίνονται, καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν οἰκονομίαν; by which we perceive that the Greeks have lately formed a word, which is μετασώσις, to signify or express Transubstantiation, which they never read in their ancient fathers, though they found it metaphorically used in some times before the words μεταβολή and μεταστοιχείωσις. \* \* \* Nor is it a wonder that the Greeks follow the Latins in this doctrine, since, as we have said before, the most learned men among them taking their education in Italy, have, in all points wherein neither custom nor councils have determined, taken up their doctrine according to the positions of the Roman schools, whom therefore they name by the distinction of Λατινόφρονες. For really others which have had their education in Greece only, do not follow this novelty; and they which do, contradict their own Liturgy; viz. that of St. Chrysostom, which is common to them both, wherein after the complete consecration these words follow; ἡμᾶς δε, &c., \* \* that is, that all we who partake of this bread and this cup may be united together in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost," &c.—vol. ii. p. 182—185.

The true state of the case then seems to be, that Transubstantiation is no doctrine of the Greek Church, although her depressed condition has exposed her to an overflow of Papal doctrine from the West, which has infected some of her children with this novel error. Its novelty in the East nothing can more clearly indicate, than the need of translating a Latin phrase, in order to its expression, in spite of the redundant copiousness of the Greek theological vocabulary. The same circumstance, it is remarked by Hammond, \* led to a similar expedient on the part of those who introduced to the Eastern Church those speculations on the Divine decrees, which, originating in St. Austin, have taken such firm root both among the Roman schoolmen and the pupils of Calvin. He says, "it is worth observing on the confession of the religion of the Greek Church, subscribed by Cyrill, the present Patriarch of Constantinople, where having somewhat to do with this phrase of God's absolute dominion, so much talked of here in the West; he is much put to it, to express it in Greek, and at last fain to do it by a word coined on purpose, a mere Latinism for the turn, ἀπολελυμένην κυριότητα, an expression, I think, capable of no excuse but this, that a new piece of divinity was to be content with a barbarous phrase."

Our author, we think, ought to have touched modestly on the-

\* See Directions for Priest and People. Sermon 2.

ological and ecclesiastical questions, were it only as belonging to a branch of study, to which he has obviously paid no attention. But we regret to add that his moral disqualifications are far more insuperable. In fact, no very ordinary qualities are requisite to the man who would estimate aright the state of foreign churches, and would so treat of them as to produce in the reader's mind a just and healthful impression. Every circumstance unites to increase the difficulty. The modern traveller leaves behind him not "the church bells of his home" alone, the house of his fathers, and the religious sympathies and associations of his youth—this alone is no small evil, yet by comparison, it is inconsiderable. The Christian world is divided against itself; the members and ministers of the church are debarred from communion by crossing a river or a mountain. One evil of this monstrous anomaly is evidently its effect on the traveller, to whom it is the source of numerous temptations, varied as are men's dispositions. A zealous and serious man is tempted to an uncharitable bigotry; to a separation in heart and affections from those who reject much which he regards as sacred, and who refuse to admit him as a brother. This evil has often prevailed in former times, and is exemplified even in the work before us, by the alienation which exists between the members of the Greek and Latin Churches. By such a spirit the union of the East and West was endangered as early as the era of Polycarp, in the course of the controversy on the Paschal season. But times are changed, and men have changed with them, and the modern English traveller is seldom to be charged with superstitious bigotry. From another danger however he is not exempt: he is not unlikely to forget altogether the sacred doctrine taught him from his infancy, the article of faith of ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH; he may easily adopt a spurious liberalism which regards the Church as little more than an abstract idea, and her communion as no great blessing; he may esteem religion as a matter between God and the heart of each individual;—nay, if he be not guarded by a strong religious principle beguiling him into a happy inconsistency, he may go so far as to imagine that it matters not very much of what shade be a man's faith, so that it is untainted with that worst of heresies in the estimate of a modern liberal—a bigoted attachment to his own church and creed. The end of this downward course is then at hand, and it is—absolute infidelity; an indifference to all religion as such, and a preference of one form over another, only as it interferes less with the course of the world; in other words, as it fails to be what, at her peril, the Church must ever be, a restless society, acting continually on the aggressive against men's vain

notions and corrupt practices, and bringing all things into subjection to the obedience of Christ.

And after all, and with all his liberalism, yet in one main point he resembles the veriest bigot. Each alike becomes an insulated being, separated by an impassable gulf from the religious worship and faith of the land in which he sojourns. The church bells are to him no call to devotion, the holy seasons pass by unnoticed, and the man stands aloof from a society of Christian brethren, as if he were surrounded by Mahometans or Heathens. Against these dangers it is not easy effectually to guard. Nay, it may sometimes be impossible to preserve aright the contending claims of truth and love. To honour the Roman Church and the Roman Bishop for example, without countenancing the errors of Popery, is a perplexing problem to every English Catholic at Rome; nor is the embarrassment much less in Greece and other countries. There is room for much honest doubt, and many serious questions; and our eyes ought to be open to the fact, because these questions have not unfrequently been adduced as a fatal objection against the true Catholic doctrine of the Church and Church authority. Yet, in truth, admitting all their force, why should they be so regarded? May not a Churchman confess a degree of perplexity? Nay, may he not even urge that perplexity was to be expected as the natural, the legitimate, offspring of sin? For the present condition of the Church is one of schism: and schism is sin: and sin in nations, as in individuals, is sure to beget doubt, and difficulty, and uncertainty. Men break the barriers of God's law, in hopes to simplify matters, and to find some shorter way; but soon they are bewildered and lost in a wilderness of their own choosing. So has it been here. But these perplexities are the effect only of our separations, no necessary consequence of Catholic doctrines: but the reverse. Mr. Pashley would have us believe that the fourth century was an era of corruption and bigotry: it was one, unquestionably, in which sound Church views universally prevailed—and how stood this matter then? The theory of the Church was then exhibited in operation before all the world, and men actually knew the disciples of Christ by the love that they had one toward another. Then there reigned throughout Christendom, not uniformity but unity. Like the surrounding atmosphere, the Church of God encompassed every land in one unbroken tide of blessing, but admitted variations in each, suited to the distinction of climates and the character of the inhabitants. There were various languages and customs; there were different rulers; but the Church was one, as her Lord is one; her rites were but the varying rule

of the same blessed company; her rulers every where acknowledged in their brethren the same authority which they exercised themselves. Every where was the same precious deposit, the holy apostolical tradition committed in each Church to the line of Bishops, and in every succession maintained inviolate in the creeds and mysteries of the Catholic Church. Here then was unity; but for uniformity in those lesser matters which that tradition had left undecided, or had ordered variously in the separate Churches, they contended not. When, therefore, the Christian left England for Greece, or the Roman visited the cities of Asia, he changed his language; he found some practices which were unknown to him; but he could not for a moment imagine that he had left his own Church behind him; that the rites of a foreign land were those of another society, or her Bishops and rulers no more to him than other men. For he was a Christian, and wherever the Christian went, he was a member still of the same holy city; and as in England he belonged to the English, so in Rome he was a member of the Roman, and at Ephesus of the Asiatic Church. To her rulers he owed, for a while, all loyalty and spiritual allegiance; from their hands he received the holy mysteries entrusted by the Lord to his mystical body, and derived from her to each of her faithful children. And for lesser matters, for ceremonies and rites, which varied in different lands, he had no new lesson to learn, he had ever been taught to obey in these things the laws of that Church on whose bosom he was cherished for a season.

That such was the ancient rule, is too notorious to need confirmation; but we will cite one authority, because it chances to relate to one of the questions which Mr. Pashley has handled in his usual irreverent and supercilious spirit. He tells us that "the Greek Christian is scandalized at the Latin for fasting on Friday and Saturday, while he mortifies the flesh on Wednesday and Friday," and then adds, as one of the discoveries of his foreign travels, "Wednesday was the day on which our Lord was betrayed; Friday that on which He was crucified." In this as in other parts of the work, he assumes an air not uncommon with those who love to represent it as one grand discovery of modern liberalism, that men who agree in all important matters, ought not to contend concerning trifling differences. But in truth, this has ever been a great Catholic principle, although, like others, too often drowned by the din of controversy and the violence of human passions. In illustration of our meaning, we may refer to the reply of Saint Austin to the inquiry how a Christian ought to act with regard to the religious rites of foreign Churches



which he chances to visit? He answers, first, that he must adhere to Baptism in the name of the Trinity, and to Holy Communion, and any thing else, if such there be, which is commanded in the Canonical Scriptures. Next he must observe whatever is sanctioned by the universal Church throughout all the world, as the annual observance of our Lord's birth and death and resurrection, and of the coming of the Holy Ghost; for this agreement could not have prevailed but by a command from the Apostles, or from a general council, the authority of which is most wholesome in the Church. Then he adds, "As for those things, which vary in different countries, as, for instance, that some fast on Saturday, others not, this whole class of observances is optional. Nor is there any better rule for a sober and wise Christian, than that of acting as the Church does, which he chances to visit. For whatever cannot be shown to be contrary to faith or morals, should be deemed indifferent, and observed for the sake of union with those among whom we live. I think you have heard me mention, but I will recall it to your memory, that when my mother joined me at Milan, and found that the Church did not fast on Saturday, she was at first disturbed, and perplexed what she ought to do. I did not trouble myself with such matters, but for her sake I asked counsel on this point from Ambrose of blessed memory. He replied, that he could not teach me any thing but that which he practised, because if he knew of any thing better, he should himself observe it. I suppose he meant to give no reason, but direct us, on his own simple authority, by no means to fast on Saturday. But he went on and said, 'When I go to Rome I fast on Saturday; when I am here I do not; and you too, whatever Church you chance to visit, observe its rule, as you would not scandalize another, nor have him scandalize you.'"

Here is true and enlightened liberality; as far from the sneer of a modern liberal who contemns all scrupulosity in religious questions, and makes no distinction between rites of Catholic and of local authority, because he "cares for none of these things," as from the narrow-minded bigotry which would exalt one man, or one nation, or one Church, over every other. When the members of the Church acted thus, they carried out the true Catholic rule—"in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus ~~¶~~ charitas;" and Christendom was indeed as a city which was at unity with itself. But if men's passions have now divided it against itself; if they have invented imaginary differences, and

\* Epist. LIV.

aggravated into schisms those which have a real existence; if novel doctrines have overlaid some Churches, and others have cast them aside, and with them a part of the deposit committed to their care, can we wonder, or shall we argue that the Catholic doctrines are not founded upon a rock, because there is some difficulty in deciding how a Christian ought to act under circumstances so disastrous?

Yet our practical difficulties surely are less than mere theorists imagine. It is plain enough, for instance, that the English Church laments all schism as a sin, and that whenever her children draw near to her holy mysteries, she teaches them to pray, "that all who do confess God's holy name may agree in the truth of His holy word, and live in unity and godly love." Thus, she holds forth the hand of fellowship to many who refuse communion with her, but whose orders and sacraments she acknowledges, because they have not erred so widely as to forfeit the name and privileges of the Church. The English Christian, then, who visits countries oppressed by Papal domination, or those of the more unhappy Greeks, is not among strangers, but among those whom, with all their errors, he recognizes as his brethren. Never can he feel or profess himself to be a mere bystander, an impartial witness of Roman, or Greek, or Mahometan superstitions. Wherever he finds Christians, and however degraded by ignorance and superstition, it is his joy to unite himself to the despised servants of his Lord. Not scornfully, but with an affectionate sympathy, will He regard their miseries, for "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Upon their very offences and corruptions he looks with no hard and supercilious curiosity; for these are the shame of his brethren, the pollutions of the Temple of the Holy Ghost, the scars and wounds of the body of Christ. Rather will he mourn over them with something of that loyal and yearning reverence with which the holy women followed Him to His cross and to his tomb, and saw His sacred form scourged and pierced and crucified, and knew not as yet why these things were, but "waited, standing afar off, and beholding," until the mystery should be accomplished. In this spirit will he stand aloof from those things which are condemned by his conscience and the rules of his Church; but to every laudable or even innocent custom of his brethren around him, he will carefully conform himself. If the Greeks, for example, have left uncorrected the imperfections of the Julian calendar, and thus, by an astronomical error, observe the sacred seasons according to the old, not the new style, he will choose to adopt their practice rather than separate himself

from his Christian brethren, and act as one unconcerned in his Lord's birth, and death, and resurrection. And if the Eastern Church has forbidden to her children the use of flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays,\* he will be ready, with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, rather to eat none while the world lasteth, than to outrage their best feelings, and identify himself with the infidel Turks, by a total apparent disregard of the days on which his Master was betrayed and crucified.

If, as we believe, God has raised up the English Church to reflect again to the world in these latter days, the brightness of primitive times, and of the primitive faith, we can fulfil our high destiny only by acting in the spirit here described. The English traveller cannot but be regarded as her representative. If his conduct and sentiments be those of an enlightened Catholic, the ignorant and oppressed natives will naturally lend a favourable ear when he lifts his voice against real corruptions. But if they see in him a total absence of all external religion, and if he treats that which prevails among them, as a mere heathen superstition, he enlists against him every holy and religious principle of their hearts; and what can follow, but that the English Reformation will seem to them only an out-break of infidelity,† and that Catholic faith and practice will more and more be associated with superstition and corruption.

In these remarks, we have assumed that the traveller finds himself among the members of a corrupt branch of the true Church, and that his object is to maintain and recommend to them, such a course of practice as would have been approved by its ancient worthies in purer times. But all such considerations must of course appear absurd to him who believes his own church and

\* The fasts of the Greek Church are so rigidly observed in Crete, that we fear the natives, if they judge of English Christians by Mr. Pashley, will transfer to our island the stigma imposed by the Apostle on their fathers, as far, at least, as regards the epithet *γαστέρες ἀργαί*. It is remarkable, that Ricault considers these fasts as having been one of the chief means of preserving the Greeks from apostacy.—p. 16.

† How far this may be the case already, it is well worth our while to consider. The following extract is from Ricault: The Greeks, "taking notice that the English neither keep fasts, nor practise confession, nor ordinarily make the sign of the cross; and that the Dutch nation, at Smyrna, rehearse no prayers at the burial of the dead, are not only scandalized thereat, but also Jews and Turks take offence at the silence of prayers when the dead are buried, wondering what sort of heresy or sect is sprung up in the world, so different from the religion of all the prophets. At which indecent practice, the Roman clergy taking advantage to disparage the Protestants, represent them, &c. \* \* \* to be such as condemn all order in the Church. \* \* \* And in reality, were it not that the English nation, by the orderly use of their Liturgy, and discipline of their Church, observing the Lord's day, and the grand festivals, did vindicate themselves of these aspersions, it were impossible to persuade the Oriental countries, that those which we call Reformed were Christians, or at least retain any thing of ancient and apostolic institution."

faith to have had their first origin at the Reformation, and that the abuses which he sees in unreformed countries, are but the remains of the primitive system, unmodified as yet by the march of improvement. In this case, he cannot claim any thing in common with foreign Christians. His Church has never had any connexion with theirs. It is by himself, and not by them, that the ancient faith has been altered.

Such, we regret to say, was the lamentable delusion under which Mr. Pashley commenced his travels, and which made it impossible for him to judge aright of the Greek Church, or her sons. He saw, in their worst corruptions, the living and exciting exhibition of the faith of their Chrysostoms, and Gregories, and Athanasiuses. And yet, even this does not satisfy him, without tracing their religion still higher. It is assumed as an axiom throughout his volumes, that the religion of Greece has continued substantially unchanged from the days of Homer to our own. To establish this monstrous absurdity, he employs that resemblance which has been supposed to exist between some modern and some ancient superstitions, and then assumes, that wherever such a resemblance, whether real or fancied, can be traced, the notion in question has been handed down in an uninterrupted course of tradition, through successive generations of idolaters, for three thousand years. In like manner, he imagines the western converts to have retained the reality of their ancient paganism, in adopting the Christian name. In England, however, this ancient faith was laid aside, it should seem, three hundred years ago; an era which, if he is consistent, he must regard as that of our national conversion from the superstition of Oden and Thor, to the religion of Christ. The folly of such an hypothesis it is needless to expose. It is needless to show, as might very easily be done, that the supposed heathen tradition was interrupted; that there was a period when the old superstitions were eradicated, while the corruptions of later days had not as yet taken root. It is needless to prove, that so long as man's nature is the same, the workings of his mind, in similar circumstances, will, in a measure, be the same likewise—that as every man does not receive from nature a temper which enables him, like Mr. Pashley, to regard all the wonders and beauties of nature as mere facts, to view them without interest or emotion, and see, in caverns like those of Crete, only so many cavities in a rock of limestone, it may chance that the admiration of very distant generations may agree in referring them to superhuman agents, without any communication from one to the other; just as we may see in Mr. Pashley many characteristics of the Sadducees of old, although

he does not follow them in any continuous school. All this childish trifling, however, we shall pass by, to speak of that which is far more important—the melancholy profaneness implied in the theory before us. The infidelity of Gibbon is never more clearly apparent than in his account of the causes of the propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Pashley's awkward conjectures must not be mentioned in connexion with the subtilties of Gibbon, but his theory as effectually degrades the religion of Christ from the rank of a Divine Revelation, conquering and to conquer by reason of its inherent authority and the promised blessing of its Author. Indeed, without addressing ourselves to estimate his actual motives, we cannot but declare that his style of writing might very well have been what it is, if it had been his deliberate purpose to undermine altogether the authority of Revelation. Christianity, he declares, failed to work its way. The philosophic pride of Athens, and the ignorant bigotry of Crete, were alike too strong for it, until it conformed itself to the prevailing polytheism, about which time, by a fortunate coincidence, the emperors compelled their unwilling subjects to adopt the Christian profession, and to substitute the names of the saints for those of their heathen deities. The mongrel religion, thus compounded, he supposes to have come down unchanged to our own day.

And can a Christian be quick to believe that such was indeed the triumph of the cross? Was it for this that Christ died, and rose, and revived, that men should call themselves Christians by compulsion; and then retain for fifteen hundred years in the bosom of His Church their heathen gods, and worship, and superstition? If it was by blood that the church was cemented, it was by the blood, not of her enemies, but of her sons. The foolish things of the world were chosen by God to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the strong. In the words of Jeremy Taylor, “for three hundred years the Church lived upon blood, and was nourished with blood; the blood of her own children. \* \* \* \* The cause of Christ and religion was advanced by the sword, but it was the sword of the persecutors, not of resisters or warriors. They were all baptized unto the death of Christ; their very profession and institution is to live like Him, and when He requires it, to die for Him; that is the very formality, the life and essence of Christianity. This, I say, lasted for three hundred years; that the prayers, and the back, and the necks of Christians, fought against the rods and axes of the persecutors, and prevailed; till the country, and the cities, and the court itself, was filled with Christians. And by this time the army of martyrs was vast and numerous, and the

multitude of sufferers blunted the hangman's sword. For Christ first triumphed over the princes and powers of the world, before He would permit them to serve Him; He first felt their malice, before He would make use of their defence; to show that it was not His necessity that required, but His grace that admitted, kings and queens to be nurses of the Church."\*

Let us now contrast with these words wherein a Christian celebrates the victory of His Lord against that world over which He triumphed by His cross, with these in which Mr. Pashley expresses his own theory; he writes in the following strain:—

"The legal establishment of Christianity as the paid religion of the state did but little in Greece towards extinguishing the ancient superstition.\* \* \* We find that the Cretans continued to worship the old deities of their island, and to venerate the tomb of Zeus half a century after this legal establishment of Christianity throughout the empire. It was only when the Spaniard Theodosius made himself the blind instrument of orthodox fanatics, and annexed the severest penalties to the celebration of the sacrifices and ceremonies of the old religion, that the corrupted Christianity of the fourth century prevailed. \* \* It seems as if the pomps and glories of the old religion retained for nearly four centuries after the Christian era an unrelaxed hold on the conviction and affections of the Cretan people, notwithstanding the labours of Titus and the elders whom he established among them. And it does not surprise us that Christianity should have failed to take root suddenly and deeply in a mountainous country like Crete," &c.—vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

Again, we have the following classical and grammatical sentence:—

"No educated traveller can fail to notice the identity between many of the superstitions equally prevalent among both ancient and modern inhabitants of various parts of Greece. It is manifest that beings, created by the lively imagination of the Greeks in olden times, are still objects of veneration at the present day," &c.—vol. i. p. 289.

Again:—

"Great Britain, while the mythology of modern Rome engrafted on old Pagan superstitions formed an essential part of her religious creed, had many such holy wells."—p. 90.

Again:—

"Such natural temples are chiefly appropriated at the present day, not like this fountain near Polis to the old divinities [i. e. the nymphs] under new names, but to the virgin queen of Heaven, whom the modern mythology describes," &c.—p. 92.

"I suppose these notions to be vestiges of opinions once inculcated

\* Sermon ix. On the Faith and Patience of the Saints. Hebr. v. 534.

by the Fathers of the Church respecting the Pagan water-spirits, which till they received as it were Christian baptism, and the name of a saint, were naturally treated as demoniacal beings."—p. 94.

It is a fair illustration of Mr. Pashley's manner of writing travels, to observe that the lengthened dissertation on the identity of Christianity and heathen superstition, from which we have made these extracts, and which fills seven octavo pages, is connected with his travels merely by the fact that he passed

"the Church of Haghiæ Parthénœ, of which my guide speaks with deep feelings of religious respect; and an hundred paces farther, a most copious fountain deriving its name from the same holy and miracle-working virgin's to whom the Church is dedicated, and who also presides over the waters."—p. 88.

It is no great marvel that our traveller, who thus conceived himself to be sojourning, not among Christians, members of an ancient, though corrupted Church, but among the worshippers of the idols of ancient Greece, should have felt no greater sympathy with the so-called Christians or their creed than with the Mahometans or the literal heathens of old times. Accordingly it would be hard indeed to say whom he most favours. He notices the superstitions, the worship, the festivals of all with impartial superciliousness. The Bairam of the Turks, the Easter of the Greeks, and the festivals of the heathen, are alike indifferent to him. Of the former he writes:—

"This festival is called by the Turks the feast of sacrifices, or the feast of the Khadgis, or pilgrims. The origin of both appellations is explained by the fact that on the day of its commencement these *holy* men slay victims as the last religious act of their pilgrimage to Mecca."—vol. ii. p. 22.

Of the Christian bishops he says—

"These oriental ecclesiastics have certainly outstripped their western brethren in loudsounding and pompous appellations, as much as they have fallen short of them in the enjoyment of the more substantial benefits, both of a well-paid establishment and of temporal power. Every Greek bishop, though in a mere worldly view sometimes little removed from the condition of Paul and the apostles, the labour of whose hands ministered to their daily necessities, yet enjoys the title of His *Holiness*, which at Rome contents even the successor of St. Peter. The Patriarch of Constantinople must of course be of superior sanctity to a common bishop, and is therefore addressed as His *All Holiness*. What the peculiar *holiness* of these mitred dignitaries under the sun of Greece really is, may be easily conjectured when it is known that they are *monks*."—vol. ii. p. 188.

Of the heathen—

"The *pious* heathen of ancient times who believed certain sacred but

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2-4-11 and so

inanimate things to have travelled from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, thought it necessary to provide them with a human escort for their long and tedious journey; but the oriental Christian both a few centuries ago and at the present day, in his unlimited faith and credulity needs no such aids."—vol. ii. p. 192.

Again:—

"We need hardly wonder that in this island, the credulity and superstition of the Mohammedans should closely resemble those of the Christian population."—vol. ii. p. 194.

Let it be remembered that this impartial tone is adopted by a Christian in comparing Mahomettans with Christians, the blasphemers and persecutors of Christ, with those who, even to the death, have confessed his name. Mr. Pashley himself tells us elsewhere concerning these heathen-Christians.

"It should never be forgotten that any Christian prisoner, instead of becoming a martyr, might throughout the war have saved his life by embracing Mohammedanism."—vol. i. p. 107.

He supplies us too with the following example of faithful martyrdom:—

"In the year 1824, three Kurmélidhes, two brothers and one of their cousins, were executed outside the walls of Rhithymnos. \* \* The men were brought before the Bey at his palace within the city; he offered them their lives on condition of their abandoning their religion. The proposal was instantly and indignantly rejected by the eldest of the prisoners. On this they were conducted to the place of execution near the Turkish cemetery without the walls. When every thing was ready, the Bey again asked the eldest whether he would become a Mohammedan. No, his faith was firm, he replied 'I was born a Christian, and a Christian I will die;' and in an instant his two companions saw his head severed from his body. The second, nothing shaken in his resolution by the sight, when asked to choose between the Crescent and the axe, answered that he would follow his brother, and on this he also was beheaded. The cousin of these two sufferers was very young, and though firm of purpose was unable to make any answer when the same proposal was repeated to him. He was seized by the attendants, and the next moment his body likewise was a headless bleeding trunk. The Bishop of Rhithymnos went near the spot that night and also the two next evenings. Each time he saw a light descend on the bodies of the two who with so holy and fervent a zeal had earned the crown of martyrdom. The blood-stained clothes of all the three unfortunates were cut off and distributed; a very small portion of them, if burnt in a sick chamber, used to effect the invalid's immediate restoration to health."—vol. i. p. 107.

It was for the sake of this last sentence, it should seem, that the anecdote has been given us; and yet in right reason which is most pitiable, the man who dies for the name of Christ, or the Christian who in such a tone relates his martyrdom?



He is equally elevated above the disputes of Catholics and heretics.

“This word Θεοτόκος was the chief stumbling-block in the way of the unfortunate Nestorius, who thought the word Χριστοτόκος or ‘Mother of Christ,’ sufficiently expressive of the peculiar relation which she bore to the Deity. The orthodoxy of the day, however, thought it right to excommunicate and anathematize the so-called heretic, who consequently became the founder of a sect which was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the numbers of which are said with those of the Jacobites to have once surpassed the Greek and Latin communions.”—vol. i. p. 192, note.

All this is very lamentable; for it is not possible that he, who thus feels and writes, should continue to regard the Church and Faith of Christ as the ark in which his own soul must be saved; and in the end he is but too sure to lose his reverence even for those things which he still professes to honour; the word of God and its Divine Author.

How far Mr. Pashley has escaped, let the following extracts tell. The first shows the sense in which he uses the word philosophical; as synonymous with infidel:—

“These legends are entitled to about as much credit as the better-known falsehood respecting Pilate’s letter to Tiberius, which is equally rejected by the philosophical historian (Gibbon, ch. xvi.), and the orthodox divine (Bishop Kaye).”—i. p. 6.

Again,—“This ignorant or philosophical Turk.” The alternative is observable; if the man violated the rules which he professed to believe divine, because he knew them not, he was only ignorant; but, if he outraged them knowingly and willingly, he attains the rank of a philosopher. To which class does Mr. Pashley desire to be referred? If religious ignorance be inconsistent with philosophy, he must obviously resign his pretensions; but if, as we may imagine, a superabundant measure of profaneness will compensate for lack of knowledge, few have a better claim. It would be bigoted, surely, and unbecoming the liberality of the age, to refuse the palm of (minute) philosophy to those of whom St. Jude writes, “These speak evil of those things which they know not, and what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves.”

Again,

“My hostess here, at Anópolis, was once traversing the mountains, accompanied by one of her daughters, and when about three miles from the village of Muri, they heard sounds, as of voices singing”—[this being followed by stones, she]—“immediately pronounced aloud some holy texts, which are a never-failing charm against any common demon. When she found that the evil spirit still continued to sing, and to cast

stones at them, she knew it must be a Katakhanas (*i. e.* vampire), and, therefore, crossing herself, and calling on the Holy Mother of God, she immediately repeated, 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.' \* \* She next repeated a part of the Greek ritual, which produced no better effect. An ancient Cretan, under the same circumstances, would probably have called on as many names as were invoked by the old lady. Instead of the Panaghia, the Logos, and the Angels, he would have used the celebrated Ephesian words, or the names of the Idean Dactyls," &c.—vol. ii. 219, 220.

Some former travellers mention an inscription, found in Crete, directing the worshippers to uncover their feet. Mr. Pashley remarks,—“A similar feeling prevailed among the Jews (Exodus, iii. 5; John, v. 15; Acts, vii. 33), and with the Pythagoreans.” It should seem that Mr. Pashley feared lest, in classing the feeling of the Jews between that of the Pythagoreans and the simple heathen, he should be thought to be “ignorant,” that “the Lord called unto Moses, put off thy shoes from off thy feet;” but, by referring to the text, he proves it to be a stroke of his “philosophy.”

The Kurmelis, who are the heroes of the next extract, were a powerful Christian family, which, for several generations, had made an external profession of Islamism.

“Still, now and then, fears would arise in the breast of each Kurmúlis, respecting his prospects with reference to the other world; and, at length, one of them determined to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and to ask the Bishop there, whether a sincere Christian, who professed Islamism, and was supposed to be a true believer in it, could be saved. The Bishop sternly answered, that any Christian, who shunned the open profession of his faith, had no chance of salvation; and on this, the old man immediately took a resolution, which was immediately adopted by nearly half the members of the clan. Thirty Kurmúlidhes determined to go at once to the Pasha at the Kastron, to confess that they were Christians, and to endure the ignominious death which would immediately await them. On their arrival in the city, out of respect for the Archbishop, they went to his residence, ‘the metropolis,’ before presenting themselves at the ‘seraglio’ of the Pasha. The Metropolitan, on learning their intention, naturally saw the question in a very different light from the Bishop at Jerusalem, and remonstrated with them, in strong and energetic terms, against their design. He easily showed them, that it was not only their own martyrdom on which they had determined, but that of many others, whom they would leave behind them. \* \* \* The Archbishop likewise alluded to the use they had ever made of their power to protect their Christian brethren, and ended by assuring them, that he differed from the Bishop at Jerusalem, and believed that they might go to heaven, though they lived and died in ostensible communion with the followers of Mohammed. His

arguments and exhortations at length prevailed, and they consented to leave the city, without divulging their secret to the Pasha."—vol. i. p. 105—107.

Alas! how shall the author escape the woe pronounced on those who call evil good, and good evil, by Him who has declared, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven."

He tells us again, that "the well-known Roman practice of putting certain classes of culprits to death, by impaling or crucifixion, was abolished by Constantine, not, as it seems, from motives of humanity, but from a superstitious reverence, manifested in many acts of his life, for the form of the cross." That is, it is a superstition, in the judgment of a modern philosopher, that a Christian should feel pain in the thought, that the peculiar death to which his Lord humbled himself, for his sake, should be reserved by the law as the last punishment of the vilest slaves and gladiators, the refuse of society.

Mr. Pashley was in Crete at the season of our blessed Lord's death and Resurrection, according to the old style of the Greeks, and the new style of the Western Church. The former he notices, by mentioning incidentally, "it is now the great week of the Greeks," as if the remembrance of their Lord's passion were some mere Greek superstition.\* Easter day he dignifies with another tedious dissertation, on the similarity of Greek and Turkish superstitions, so much like those which have been transcribed, that we spare the reader the weariness which we felt in reading it. But, lest it should be supposed that our philosopher neglected the Oriental Easter, from a bigoted attachment to the calculation of his own Church, it should be mentioned, that his journal for March 30—the Easter Sunday of the English Church (A.D. 1834)—makes no allusion at all to the season, although it is remarkably full, as he chanced to travel further than usual, and examined an extraordinary number of ancient ruins, in "a ride of nearly ten hours."

One illustration more will suffice to exhibit the temper of our author's mind.

"At this period of the struggle, the Christians used invariably to slay even their female prisoners. This was done to avoid what was regarded as a still deeper crime than murder, improper familiarity between their own warriors, and any woman who had not received Christian baptism."

To this passage the following note is annexed :—

"Most of the actors in the events alluded to, still look back on the

\* The persecuted and ignorant Cretans still maintain their primitive Easter salutation, "Christ is risen!" with the response, "He is risen indeed."

cold-blooded massacre of their ill-fated female prisoners, as a mere discharge of a religious obligation! Thus they afford an additional, though needless, example of the dishonour and disgrace which redound to the sacred name of religion, when once usurped by superstition, or connected with crime; and make us sympathize with the ancient poet, who, after describing similar '*scelerosa atque impia facta*' of the miserable superstition which was called religion in his day, exclaims,

'*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*'"

We return to the text.

"The recent custom of the Christian insurgents in this island, repugnant as it is to *our*\* notions of religion and humanity, resembles the conduct which was sometimes enjoined on the ancient Israelites (as with respect to Jericho, Joshua, vi. 21; and against the Amalakites, 1 Samuel, xv. 38.) Their too lenient treatment of the Midianite women, whom they took captives 'with their little ones,' slaying only all the males, is represented as having excited the indignation of Moses."

We have given after all but a mere outline of Mr. Pashley's character as an author. To fill up its details, we must not only multiply similar examples, but must defile our pages with others, exhibiting his studious and wholly gratuitous introduction of subjects and quotations commended to his notice only by their foul and revolting obscenity. On this subject we shall only say, that it would have been well if he had known something of the feeling which induced the Heathen author to preface one of these very passages with the words *ὅ μοι ἡδίων ἐστὶ λέγειν*. We now take our leave of him with hearty delight, desiring that we may henceforth be better strangers, and only inclined to fear lest our readers should complain that we have called their attention to him at all. And although it is melancholy, and cannot but excite feelings of mingled pity and disgust, that any educated Englishman should exhibit a mind so low and debased, yet we know not that we should have considered his work (learned as it is) to be worthy of their notice, if it had been left to stand or fall by its intrinsic merits. We regret to state, however, that this is not the case. Not only is it recommended by the author's station as a Fellow of the most distinguished society in the University of Cambridge, from whose press it issues; but he informs us that "his acknowledgments are due to the Syndics" of that press, "for a very liberal contribution out of the funds at their disposal towards its typographical expenses." This announcement, we think, deserves the most serious attention of every member of the University. The endowments of these venerable societies, and the immunities of their press, were bestowed for the furtherance of sound learning and the maintenance of the Catholic faith. Are they to be prostituted in the

\* The Italics are Mr. Pashley's.

cause of profaneness and irreligion? This, indeed, were an unmeet employment of the bounty of pious founders, and of the patronage of a Christian legislature—an unfit course, whereby in a day of rebuke and blasphemy, to conciliate good men or to approve ourselves to Almighty God as good stewards of His manifold gifts. The sanction given to Mr. Pashley's work was given, of course, under some mistaken impression as to its character and principles; but on this very account, it is our duty the more plainly to exhibit their real nature.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

AMONG the books, which we have received during the past quarter, are new editions of Dr. Southey's "*Book of the Church*," and Dr. Pye Smith's "*Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*." But these are works which neither demand criticism, nor require panegyric. We can only rejoice to see, in the extent of their circulation, an acknowledgment of their value. We ought to add, however, that this value is enhanced by additions and improvements which have been made to both these standard productions in their present shape.

## SERMONS.

IN addition to the Sermons already mentioned in this number, we are bound to specify the Rev. John H. Pinder's sound and excellent volume "*On the Book of Common Prayer, &c.*"

ALMOST more valuable, perhaps, as far as they go, are the *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Years 1836, 1837. By the Rev. Charles A. Heurtley, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College.* The doctrine is moderate and judicious: the style is logical and sensible:—and although it is improbable, in these days, that *all* should allow either Mr. Heurtly, or any other inquirer, to have adjudicated with complete accuracy between the conflicting claims—supposed at least to be conflicting—of Church authority and private judgment; and, again, between the respective claims of the Church Catholic and the Established Church of the realm, still, the remarks in both his fourth sermon and in his Preface—more especially from page xi. to page xiv. of the latter—are deserving of grave consideration; and at least show that he has embraced and regarded in his mind those several points, without an attention to *each* and *all* of which it is quite impossible that we should ever arrive at a wise and right decision, either in our speculations or our practice. If Mr. Heurtly swears by any master, he may be called a disciple of the great Hooker, and he could scarcely have chosen a better guide.

MUCH mighty matter is also to be found in the *Sermon preached before the University of Oxford on St. Peter's Day, 1837, by the Rev. Charles Henry Crawford*;—and still more, perhaps, in the Appendix and notes. We shall not, however, enter into the differences of opinion, whether real or apparent, between the author and Mr. Woodgate: nor discuss the existence of "*an innate moral faculty*,"—which *faculty*, by the way, is called elsewhere by Mr. Crawford, in the language of Brown, a *susceptibility of emotions*. We have already touched upon this intricate subject in our notice of Mr. Anderson's sermons; and, for the rest, these metaphysical logomachies must be quite end-

less ; until writers shall endeavour to lay down, at starting, some accurate definition of the principal terms which they employ ; and until opposing controversialists shall use the same words in the same sense.

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OTHER single sermons of great excellence have reached us—some just too late for any mention in our last number:—such as Dr. Spry's Sermon at Canterbury on "*the Usefulness of a Classical Education*;"—the Discourse, preached at Colchester by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, intitled, "*Useful Knowledge no substitute for Religious Knowledge in a Scheme of National Education*;"—" *The comparative Estimate of Secular and Religious Learning*," by the Rev. James Lee Warner;—the Sermon preached by Dr. Hinds at the Visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln;—"*The Way of Christ prepared*," by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, "*An Address both to Christians and Jews*," earnest and impressive, though sometimes treading on uncertain ground;—Mr. Tritton's Sermon on "*The Office and Duties of the Clergy*;"—the "*Ordination Sermon of Mr. Crosthwaite*," and many others.

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MR. E. Thompson's Two Sermons on Marriage are earnest and well-timed ; although, perhaps, they are not written throughout in the best taste, or with that meekness of wisdom which is most beneficial from the pulpit.

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*Congregational Lectures.* Fifth Series. By George Redford, D.D. LL. D. Jackson and Walford. 1837.

EVERY series, which has yet appeared, of the "*Congregational Lectures*," has been an able and creditable performance; the present is not an exception. The subject chosen by Dr. Redford is, "*Holy Scripture verified; or the Divine Authority of the Bible confirmed by an Appeal to Facts of Science, History, and Human Consciousness*." This theme is an extremely fine one ; but it is, perhaps, somewhat too vast for a course of lectures. The consequence is, that these nine discourses are of extreme length, and yet in their argument and its elucidation not always complete. They form, however, a receptacle of much valuable information, and much edifying disquisition:—nor, we think, will the pious wish, with which the writer concludes, have been cherished in vain : "Happy will the author of the present attempt consider himself, if his labours serve to remove, in however small a degree, the difficulties of any who rationally doubt, or to confirm the faith of any who sincerely believe."

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#### RELIGIOUS MEMOIRS.

*Journals and Letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D.* Edited by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, M. A., Rector of Brighstone. Seeley and Burnside.

THESE "*Journals and Letters*," published under the able superintendence of Mr. Wilberforce, form an excellent companion to those Memoirs of Henry Martyn, which have made the prominent events of his life so well known, that

it must be needless to repeat them. There may be found, by those who read merely for amusement or excitement, something of sameness and monotony in the strain of reflections which penetrates, imbues, and pervades these volumes; but delight as well as edification must grow upon the serious mind, as we contemplate the sincere and intense devotedness of such a man, displayed under every variety of circumstances, in the cause of salvation by Jesus Christ. Indeed, when we survey the character and labours of Pastors and Missionaries, such as Neff, as Oberlin, as Swartz, as David Brainerd, as Henry Martyn; or, again, of such ministers as Romaine, Cecil, John Newton, Scott, Robinson of Leicester, Walker of Truro, Venn, Simeon, and many others, we may not agree with all the peculiar doctrines which they espoused; we may not quite approve all that they said or did; but still, we must be ready to exclaim with Bishop Jebb, "*sit mea anima cum illis.*" If any man doubts the power of the Gospel upon the heart—the animating and consoling power—let him diligently peruse these "*Journals and Letters.*" And yet there are some parts which have almost the interest of a novel. The letters to Miss Lydia Grenfell, and the insertions in the Journal concerning her, exhibit a depth, and strength, and tenderness of feeling, over which even they might weep, from whose bosoms the romance of youth has long and for ever vanished. They exhibit, sometimes, human love hallowed by divine; sometimes, the fondest affections of the natural man struggling with the highest aspirations of the spiritual. The tale is one of honest, fervent, but in the end unfortunate, passion, without sickly and cloying sentimentality. The catastrophe of the life, in general, is most affecting.

We ought to add, that, in the introduction, Mr. Wilberforce has given us a brief but most engaging account of the Rev. John Sargent, the friend and biographer of Henry Martyn.

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*The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitfield.* By Robert Philip.  
London: George Virtue.

SINCE the labours of Dr. Southey, it has become superfluous to enter at any length upon the Memoirs of Whitfield and his times. The great lesson, it seems to us, to be derived from Whitfield's life, and more especially from the strange rambling account of it which is now before us, is the value of delivery to a public speaker. We know of no instance which so completely bears out the axiom of Demosthenes. Here is a young man of three-and-twenty, arresting the attention of many thousands of persons at a time,—persons, in many cases, notoriously of profane habits and licentious characters, swearers, drunkards, blasphemers, sabbath-breakers; now attracting multitudes away from the humours of a fair, or the fascinations of an itinerant theatre; now drawing contrite tears down the iron cheeks of miners and colliers—swaying their hearts and minds—exciting, impressing, melting, subduing, overpowering them; and effecting these marvels, after all, without one particle of wisdom, and with but a slender portion of genuine ability. Something must, of course, be attributed to the evident piety of the man—something to his earnest zeal—



something to his self-endangering and self-sacrificing boldness—something to the startling novelty of his exhibitions—something to the nature of his doctrines, which were often calculated by their very extravagance to catch and govern the audiences to which they were addressed; but, we repeat, the main secret of his success was the charm and animation of his delivery—the magic of voice, and countenance, and gesture. In real talent and sagacity, in extent and depth of attainments, in far-sighted and comprehensive views, Whitfield was altogether and immeasurably inferior to John Wesley. Wesley was a legislator—Whitfield was only an orator. Wesley had in him some of the highest elements of the statesman or the ruler, the founder of an empire or a sect; he had a sustained and regulated ambition, skill, vigilance, perseverance, the power of calculation, the power of combination, the power of command. Whitfield was an eloquent enthusiast, and nothing more. Wesley, therefore, has left behind him a monument of his exertions, which may be almost said to be as wide as the circumference of the globe, as enduring as the religious emotions of mankind. He has left behind him in both hemispheres a vast and increasing number of Christians identified with his memory and his name. Whitfield's influence was merely personal, and has been rapidly decaying and wearing out from the moment of his death. Nay, even as to the constituents of eloquence, Whitfield possessed the *external* rather than the *internal*. His *matter* was often worthless; but good and fastidious judges were quite captivated and enchained by his *manner*. This manner—this unrivalled excellence in—if we may so call them—the histrionic ingredients of the preacher, was, however, so potent as to awaken, we believe, the jealousy of Wesley, and sometimes to do wonders where even Wesley had failed. Let it not be supposed from these observations, that we would make Whitfield a model, in any way, for the regular Clergy of the Established Church; but still the moral of his history, for such we almost consider it, ought not to be altogether lost.

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*Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Albert Bengel, Prelate in Würtemberg.* Translated from the German by Robert Francis Walker, M.A. London: William Ball, Paternoster Row.

THIS *Memoir* gives at considerable length and under various aspects the life of a very pious, active, and learned man. It may be read with much advantage; but the bulk of the volume, and the multifariousness of its contents, preclude us from attempting an analysis in the small space which remains at our disposal. There are many valuable remarks; but many also, which are rather curious than sound. Much of the matter, though in an English dress, is *very German*; for instance, we might refer our readers to what is called, at page 503, “*A temptation of a peculiar kind*,” “when it was said to Bengel, that possibly he might be meant by *the third Angel in the Apocalypse*, &c.” Spener, it appears, was considered by Bengel as the *second Angel*. But this, we must allow, is not a fair average sample. The translation is dedicated to that excellent man, Dr. Steinkopff.

While we are on the subject of Memoirs, Biographies, and personal Histories in general, we may as well mention that some complaints have reached us, not however from the authors themselves, because we have not reviewed Dr. Dibdin's Reminiscences, and some other publications of a similar nature. Our silence, let us assure our correspondents, has not been occasioned by any aspersions which may have been cast upon our own labours, or opinions, or motives. But there are reasons anterior to any peculiarities which a book may contain, why we cannot look with much complacency upon a living man's reminiscences of living men. It is almost always better that the publication of such things should be deferred until death, which turns as it were contemporaneous accounts into history, has closed against the accents, whether of praise or blame, the ear both of the describer and the subject of his description; until the partialities and the prejudices, the friendships and the rivalries, the patronage and the dependence, of all parties concerned, have been buried in the one common and absorbing grave. And even the compilation of the reminiscences, we think, properly belongs to that last period of existence, when a man has done with the busy scene of human affairs; when he is no longer an actor upon the open stage, no longer troubled and tossed about by the alternations of success and failure; but when his feverish struggles have subsided into a calm, and his enthusiastic admiration or his fiery animosities into comparative indifference; and the mind, looking forward to another world, reposes from the agitations of the present, and is influenced only by just and sober, by dispassionate and solemn, by kindly and charitable feelings. While a writer, instead of having quite closed his career, is either preparing his triumphs, or nursing up his griefs, in a temporary retirement; while he is still an expectant of favours and a sharer in many competitions; while his bosom is still throbbing and tumultuating with the strongest passions of manhood, panting with ambition or stung with disappointment; it cannot but happen, that *that* which is prospective will interfere with that which is retrospective; the contingencies of the future will throw their lights and shadows over the realities of the past; and the pictures of the memory will be disturbed by the intruding shapes of hope and fear. The pencil in such a case will, almost inevitably, be dipped in the wrong colours, and trace either incorrect or unsteady lines; the drawing will not be taken either from the right point of vision, or with a right frame of disposition; and every touch may be either a libel or a flattery, a compliment or a satire. Works of this kind have appeared in every country, which have dishonoured its literature scarcely less than a string of scandals or a catalogue of dedications; inasmuch as they have been filled either with false prepossessions or furious dislikes, with servile adulation or scurrilous calumny, with fawning sycophancy or desperate malignity.

Nor, indeed, if every portrait in the gallery were a faithful likeness of the original, is it at all clear that such an exhibition ought to be opened. With all memoirs published during the life-time, and the living activity, of persons, who are still bound together by mutual relations and ties of intercourse, many and most obvious inconveniences are inseparably interwoven. Panegyrics and censure may be liable to equal objection, and will give, perhaps, almost equal

annoyance. The statements, unless they are weak and sinewless, inane and vapid, to an extreme degree, may look at least like violations of confidence, and an invasion of those decencies and sanctities which social usage and social comfort demand. The evil may be the same, at least in kind, as if a bag of private letters should be opened at the post-office, and printed for the public inspection and amusement; or if men, in a mixed and numerous company, were to give at large their entire opinion of each other, and each other's friends.

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WORKS ON EDUCATION.

HERE it was our intention to scrutinize the publications put forth by the *Central Society of Education*, in a searching, yet not unfriendly spirit; but we are compelled to relinquish our design for want of room. The *Reading Books, a Series of Lessons and Course of Reading*, by the Rev. J. M. McCulloch, Minister of Kelso, have arrived so late in the quarter, that, having no leisure to examine them carefully, we are merely enabled to state our first and hasty impression, which unquestionably is, that they are very well adapted to their purpose, namely, to the progressive stages of intellectual cultivation in the humbler ranks of society.

By the way, while speaking of education, we cannot but state our satisfaction at the growing coincidence of opinion which seems to exist on this momentous topic in the minds of all reflecting persons, with the exception, perhaps, of a few nervous alarmists on the one side, and some individual members of the Central Society on the other. It is now agreed—and here, as in many other cases, where agreement is at length reached, we can only wonder how any previous controversy could have been raised with respect to truths so self-evident;—it is now agreed, that Education is a transcendent good, that the range of popular education may be extended, and its subjects multiplied with manifest advantage; but that, if an attempt be made to disconnect it from religion, education itself may lose all its value, and almost be converted into a curse. It is now agreed, that Education ought to be universal as to its recipients; but that the way to render Education hateful, is to render it compulsory; it is generally felt that any Administration, or any Board of Commissioners, which should think of enforcing attendance at schools by fines or penalties, would be regarded as an educational press-gang; and that no kind of impressment can ever be acceptable to the people of England.

But these main principles being allowed, namely, universality as far as it is attainable without compulsion; the extension of the range of teaching—and Scriptural religion the central focus and consecrating power of general instruction—a wide and solid basis may, we trust, be laid, for concord, and advancement, and improvement. We trust, that the two great Educational Societies, since obviously they cannot work together, will be suffered to proceed, each on its own course, with a generous and not hostile competition: and that Churchmen will not have any peculiar discouragements and impediments thrown in their way; but that they will experience, in a due proportion, that cordial

assistance from the Government which is afforded in other quarters. They cannot be content with less; we do not think that they are likely to ask more. Whether the remaining differences can, or cannot be comfortably adjusted, it might be premature even to conjecture: but, so far, it is certainly a satisfaction to ourselves to find, that the sentiments which we have repeatedly expressed, are now borne out by the concurrent sense of the nation.

And here we cannot but express our cordial thanks to Dr. Jones, of Bedford, that in an admirable and touching lecture on the "*Literary Beauty of the Bible*," he has found, or rather seized, an opportunity of thus mentioning our labours, in a kind of episode on the subject of Education.

"For these remarks, I am indebted to the British Critic—a quarterly journal, which advocates strenuously, uniformly, and ably, the cause of universal education;—a journal, from which I have borrowed, on former occasions, many a noble sentiment on the subject of popular enlightenment, and by which I have been taught, how feasible it is, to be most true and faithful to the Church of England, and yet to be the zealous champion of an outspread of knowledge, fenced and sanctified by religion, through the length and breadth of the united kingdom."

To have in any degree *merited* this encomium, to have contributed but one stone to the mighty temple of human improvement, based on the sacred foundation of the Gospel and the Apostolical Church, would be to our minds more than wealth, more than celebrity, more than an adequate reward in the midst of some difficulties and some misconceptions.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

*The Present State and Prospects of the Church and the World.* By a Clergyman of the Church of England. Seeley and Co. 1837.

THE publication which rejoices in this contracted and unassuming title—and *any* other would be quite as applicable to its contents—consists of nine lectures and an Appendix, full of rambling remarks and miscellaneous quotations. The author is too modest: he does himself injustice, as we shall presently see, by not adding the *Past History* of the Church and the World to the Present State and Future Prospects. But to be serious; the whole tone is wild and violent. We must, however, confine ourselves to a single citation,—one, alas, which shows, with too clear a demonstration, what kind of spirit towards his predecessors and his brethren in the Church can still actuate, here and there, 'a Clergyman of the Church of England.'

"The writer professes not a profound acquaintance with prophecy; but several passages, both of the Old and New Testaments, would lead us to expect in these last days, a more than ordinary defection from the faith. And certainly, when we consider existing appearances, there seems but too much reason to prognosticate, that this awful, this terrific period is drawing very near indeed to its commencement.

"All these evils are in a great measure attributable to the greivous unfaithfulness of the Churches in these kingdoms for a long period, terminating about forty

years since. Britain was once the glory of all lands ; prosperous at home, and respected abroad ; but ‘ pure religion and undefiled ’ was then *her* glory. Her prelates, as Cranmer and Hooper, and Latimer and Jewell, and Hall and Beveridge, were apostolic. Her pastors, as Bradford, and Gilpin, and Baxter, and Herbert, and Henry, were clothed with righteousness, pastors after God’s own heart, that fed the people. Then were the palmy days of the Church of England. Then was it well with us. But alas ! it is the tendency of all things sublunary to degenerate. The fatal Act of Uniformity was passed, which drove from the pale of the English establishment such a goodly company of ministers, as occasioned her a loss of vitality, from which she is only now beginning to recover. Presently an ominous cloud came over her—chilling her devotional fervour, and obscuring her doctrinal brightness. Then succeeded a darkness that was felt. The priest’s lips kept knowledge no longer. The law perished from the learned, and counsel from the prudent. The shepherds, indeed, ate the fat, and clothed themselves with the wool, but they fed not their flocks ; so that they were scattered, and became meat to all the beasts of the field. They wandered through all the mountains, and none did search or seek after them.

“ The clergy, in place of being ensamples to the people in whatsoever things were pure, lovely, and of good report, were their leaders in all that was vicious and scandalous. They forsook the study of the Scriptures for the study of the world ; the chamber of the sick for the scene of dissipation. They had become dumb dogs that could not bark. They had forsaken the word of the Lord, and what wisdom was in them ?

“ The truth being no longer clearly and constantly proclaimed from the pulpit, faith which cometh and is nourished by hearing, gradually declined. The people were destroyed for lack of knowledge. There was ‘ like people, like priest.’ The worship of God in spirit and in truth was superseded by a cold and heartless formality ; and nominal protestantism became little better than real popery. People rested in the ‘ opus operatum,’ the mere act and letter of observances ; and relied on their own doings, instead of the merits of the Mediator, to obtain them justification. During this ‘ dark age’ of the English church, the sun of Christianity not only did not remain stationary in her hemisphere, it absolutely retrograded (*sic*) many degrees ; so that of her it might, in a spiritual sense, be lamented, in the pathetic language of inspiration, ‘ Her Nazarites *were* purer than snow ; they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies ; their polishing was of sapphire. Their visage *is* blacker than a coal ; they are not known in the streets : their skin cleaveth to their bones ; it is withered, it is become as a stick.’

“ Could these dry bones live ? yes ; all things are possible with God. His Spirit came from the four winds, and breathed upon these slain, so that they revived and stood up, an exceeding great army. All the three national Churches awoke as in the ancient days, and put on their beautiful garments. The glory of the Lord was risen upon them ; and they presently shone as cities set upon hills, reflecting a moral lustre around the lands. But alas ! the con-

sequences of long neglect are not remedied speedily, nor the guilt of it soon forgotten by the Almighty. While the husbandman slept, the enemy sowed tares in the field; which have sprung up in such a noxious crop of vices, as will only be exterminated by the Spirit of judgment and of burning. A storm has been raised in the just anger of the Lord, that will not easily be allayed. His heritage has become unto him as a speckled bird; the birds round about her are against her. 'Syria is confederate with Ephraim in the war against Jerusalem.' Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers worshipped, they seek not to repair but to demolish.

"Its very existence they call its crime; they cry, 'Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!' They break down its carved work with axes and hammers. That venerable religious establishment, which has been the main pillar and ground of the truth in these realms, which we may term, indeed, the very spinal bone of the empire, they are proceeding to destroy, thereby endangering the whole body politic through which it is extended. Her bishoprics have been abolished, her ministers murdered, and herself loaded with the whole vocabulary of abuse."—p. 16—20.

Alas, who can wonder, that men should wish to break *the spinal bone of the empire*, or, in language less superb, to dismember and destroy the Establishment, when such a description of its recent state is given by one of its ministers; when he has "*loaded it with the whole vocabulary of abuse*," when too, as is plain from the tenor of that minister's allegations, the re-animation, even now, must be by no means complete? We do not, as we have proved, take part with Mrs. Trollope; but who can wonder, if (so called) orthodox clergymen should be sometimes goaded into animosity or disgust, when their fathers, and themselves by implication, are made the subjects of such outrageous and unmeasured vituperations?

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UNDER the head of "*Miscellaneous Works*" we beg warmly to recommend to our readers *the Elements of Syriac Grammar*, by the Rev. George Phillips, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge; published in London, by Mr. Parker of the Strand. The work is a thin octavo, which may be examined at no great expense of time or trouble, and is introduced by a judicious preface, explaining the use and importance of the study of the Syriac language.

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MR. Kemp's "*Refutation of Non-Conformity, &c.*," we need now scarcely recommend. Our recommendation comes almost too late. The volume, as Dr. Johnson said on a very different occasion of himself, "is known, and does not want it."

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IN exactly reprinting the "*Diocesan Statutes of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Province of Leinster*," Mr. M'Ghee, we think, has adopted the right course. The introduction, too, to the Latin "*Statuta Diocesana*," is at least curious and striking.

THE *Second Series of the Young Christian's Sunday Evening*, by Mrs. Parry; "*The Young Christian's Glossary*;" "*The Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert*, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq.;" the "*Chemistry of Nature*, by Hugo Reid;" "*Hunter's Satires and Epistles of Horace*;" "*Welcome and Farewell, a Tragedy*,"—with a variety of occasional Reports, Pamphlets, &c., we should have been glad to notice more at large, but that our space has been more than required by theological and ecclesiastical matters of immediate and pressing interest.

Our excuse must be the same, that we can only return our general thanks for the continuation of those beautiful works, which at once adorn our literature, and illustrate "*Scotland*," "*Switzerland*," "*the Tyrol*," "*the Country of the Waldenses*," "*the Ports and Harbours of Great Britain*," "*Oxford and Cambridge*," "*the Churches of London*," "*the Cathedrals of England and the Continent*."

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SACRED POETRY.

*The Poetical Works of the Rev. Thomas Dale, M. A.* London: Charles Tilt, Fleet Street. 1836.

THESE elegant and pathetic poems, although they have but lately reached us in their collected form, are too well known among Christian readers to need much criticism now. They have many beauties; but the deficiency or the fault—and it is a serious one—is the want of power. We miss that strength of language which results from intensity and energy of thought. The flow of the verse is almost too smooth, too equable, too regular; and we should sometimes hail with pleasure the abruptness of the water-fall, or the impetuous dash of the rapid torrent. Polished, classical, harmonious, these productions commit no offences against taste, no outrages upon the "modesty of nature," or the rules of art. But the "brave neglect," "the graces beyond the reach" of all mere structure of versification, and all mere modulations of sound; the masculine vigour, the daring and eagle-winged flights of a lofty genius,—the burning, startling, unforgotten words of irrepressible emotion; in short, the highest and sublimest triumphs of poetry are nowhere to be found. The volume may be said to resemble a quiet landscape, smiling with the loveliness of the grove and the valley, tamed into fertility, and rich with careful cultivation; but deficient, on that very account, in the bolder and grander charms of this earth so prodigal of all beauty—the solemn depth of the forest, the majestic aspect of the mountain-solitudes, the terrible and as it were conscious repose of the unfathomed ocean.

It is superfluous to add, that this volume thoroughly deserves the praise which Mr. Dale claims for it in a brief and modest preface. The moral purity which it breathes, heightened and sublimed by earnest piety, is altogether unexceptionable and unquestionable. It is a book which the father of a family might see with satisfaction in the hands of his youngest daughter; and that daughter might read every word of it without a blush at the moment, or a sigh of regret at any subsequent period of life. In this sense, therefore, Mr. Dale,

of whose amiable character the publication is a proof, may have the full consolation of reflecting, that he has written

“No line which, dying, he would wish to blot.”

And believing, as we do, that the faculties of the imagination are to be cultivated as well as every other faculty, which it has pleased God to give us—that they are sources, not only of exquisite enjoyment, but of inestimable benefit, if cultivated aright—that they may be even instrumental towards the perception and appreciation of the highest and divinest truths; we are cordially glad to recommend a collection of poems, which, without unduly stimulating or pampering them at the expense of any other capacities, may supply to them a wholesome, and grateful, and unobjectionable aliment.

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#### AMERICAN WORKS.

THE literary importations from America are always acceptable, always valuable. The fresh numbers of “*The Missionary*,” are, as usual, excellent. The “*Fifth Conventional Address of Bishop Doane; and the Rector’s Christmas Offering for 1836, being a Pastoral Address to the Parishioners of St. Mary’s Church, Burlington, New Jersey, on the Christian’s Duty of Family Worship*,” do not require our recommendation, and are above it.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting document which has lately crossed the Atlantic, though the language, we think, might in some places be simplified with great advantage, is “*An Appeal to Parents for Female Education on Christian Principles, with a Prospectus of St. Mary’s Hall, Green Bank, Burlington, New Jersey*. The Institution, it is said, deserves to be called a *School for Mothers*; and the writer proceeds:—

“But it is time that we approach our statement of the Plan, immediate objects, and important advantages of the proposed Institution. Reflecting much and often on the subject, it has seemed always of the first propriety,—may we not say necessity?—that *the education of females should be*, as nearly as possible, *domestic*. If it were possible to avoid it, no daughter should be educated out of the shadow of the parental roof. Whatever may be said of the other sex, home is the congenial atmosphere of woman; and, better than all teachers, for female children, is the gentle, prudent, pious mother. But it may not always be so. For various reasons, many girls will always be sent abroad to receive their education. The next best thing to their own native fireside, is to prepare a home for them—to supply to them, as nearly as may be, the dear domestic influences—to institute anew, so far as nature will permit, the parental relation—to give them, in a word, another father and another mother. To this end, the first consideration has been *the formation of the domestic establishment of the Institution*.

“Of the household which is thus constituted, teachers and scholars will alike be members. They will dwell under the same roof. They will gather round the same table. They will kneel at the same altar. The age, the sacred



office, the venerable aspect, the exalted character of the reverend head of the family, will not only entitle him to the respect due to a father, but will win for him also the confidence and the affection; while, in the gentler nature of the excellent Christian lady, who will discharge the offices of Matron, there are eminently combined the gifts, and graces, and charities, which make up, and endear the mother. All will thus be daughters. All will be sisters. So far as may be, all will be, not only, but feel that they are, at home. The domestic nurture will be restored to them. They will revive the domestic interests. They will enjoy the domestic influences. And the great end desired for each of them will be, her fitness to adorn and bless, as daughter, sister, wife, or mother, that one sweet, sheltered spot, the native nestling place of woman, and her own peculiar empire, her home.

“For such a purpose, celestial influences must be combined with what is best of earth, and our newly constituted family must form a Christian Household. Last of all places to be left without ‘the care of souls,’ is a seat of female education. Fullest of promise, in its present influence, and in future permanent results, will be the exercise, in such a fold, of the pastoral relation. The father of the family will, therefore, also be the shepherd of the lambs. The priestly and the patriarchal office will be again combined. Every morning will be consecrated, and every evening blessed, with prayer. The word of God will be daily read, and its sacred truths enforced, in the hearing of all. The careful study of the sacred text will be furthered by encouragement and assistance, in every proper form. The habit of private devotion will be promoted and cherished, to the utmost. A pastoral care, knit with parental love, will wait, and pray, and watch, to ‘warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all.’

“Upon our Christian household, for its growth in grace, and in the knowledge and love of God, it is our purpose to bring to bear, to the fullest extent, the institutions, the ordinances, and the influences of THE CHURCH. It will enjoy the benefit of constant and immediate *Episcopal* supervision. Its worship, whether in the chapel, or in the parish church, will be of kindred character; and divine service will be attended, not only on the Lord’s day, but on all the festivals and fasts of the Christian year. ‘The doctrines, constitution, and liturgy of the Church’ will be subjects of constant and diligent instruction. Preparation for the apostolic ordinance of confirmation, as indeed for the due reception of both the sacraments, will be kept constantly in view; and, in short, nothing will be left undone to imbue every mind with the principles, and every heart with the piety, of the primitive ages of the Church; and to render St. Mary’s Hall a nursery of pure and undefiled religion. It is thought best to state distinctly this characteristic of the Institution, that there may be no disappointment and no dissatisfaction. The doors will be open for all. All who desire instruction will be welcome, whatever be their religious birthright, or the profession of their parents. But all who come will be instructed in the same principles, accustomed to the same worship, and trained to the same discipline. There will thus be no division of interest, and no collision of feeling. Serious

interruptions will be avoided. Unprofitable comparisons will be prevented. Important influences will be secured. There is, as Paul assures us, but 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism;' and it will be our constant prayer and effort, 'to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.'

"For the daughters of this Christian household, securing *first*, so far as lies in us, that they shall be brought up 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,' THE BEST TEACHERS IN every department of SCIENCE, LITERATURE, and THE FINE ARTS, proper to such an institution, shall be procured, and every possible facility shall be afforded, that its pupils, duly improving their opportunities, may become well-instructed and accomplished Christian ladies. As soon as may be, after the organization is complete, a plan of study, suited to this end, to occupy at least three years, after the necessary elements are acquired, will be marked out and adopted, as the regular course of the Institution; and though scholars will be received for shorter periods, not less than a year, and entered according to their proficiency, the preference will always be given to such as will comply with its full requirements. In directing the education of young ladies, it is a nice matter to distribute in their just proportion, the *useful* and the *ornamental*. It will be our aim to make the useful, ornamental; and the ornamental, useful. The hardest woods receive the highest polish. The elegant accomplishments of the sex are never seen to such advantage, as when they crown and grace a well-cultivated, a well-stored, and a well-balanced mind. It is not the time to state, in full detail, the system of instruction. However easy such a sketch might be, and however attractive; it will be far safer and more useful in the retrospect, than it could be in prospective. Suffice it to say, for the general subject, that *development rather than mere acquirement* is regarded as the end—that, to be *thorough and accurate*, will always be required in every undertaking—and that, in all departments, the chief reference will always be to *the practical purposes of life*. The administration of the business of instruction will be committed to A PRINCIPAL TEACHER, a well-educated, experienced and accomplished Christian lady, with assistant teachers in the several branches. All the teachers and officers will be constantly responsible to the bishop of the diocese, as patron and principal of the establishment.

"As important details, the following may be mentioned here. All expenditures, for the use of the pupils, must be made under the direction of the head of the family; with whom all moneys must be lodged. A proper economy will be strictly enjoined on all. Constant attention will be paid to the health, and physical vigour of the pupils; in furtherance of which a suitable course of exercise will be systematically pursued. In each of the dormitories, an assistant teacher will be constantly present with the scholars, who will all occupy single beds. Every scholar will be expected to attend to all the varieties of plain sewing, and to the various branches of domestic economy, under the direction of the Matron, or other suitable person. The cultivation of sacred music, both vocal and instrumental, will be rendered, as nearly as may be, universal. A choir for the Chapel will be selected, of those most competent;

and it will be an object to qualify as many of the pupils as possible to preside at the organ, and to take part in the psalmody of the Church. As an important means of improving the literary taste, and confirming the moral and religious principles of the scholars, a library of suitable books, in the various departments, will be formed; to which additions will, from time to time, be made, under the direction of the Bishop; and no other books, besides the school books and books of devotion, will be allowed within the walls of the Institution.

“As a proper recognition of the Christian duty of benevolence, and as a grateful acknowledgment to Him who put it into the hearts of men to project and to establish this Institution, for the Christian education of females, provision is made, and will be continued, *for the entirely gratuitous support and instruction of one scholar in every ten*, making application as *the daughter of a clergyman* of the Church, deceased; or, if living, in necessitous circumstances. Such application to be made known only to the Head of the family, and to the Bishop; on whose approval it shall be granted.”

We do not now ask, whether, or not, any such institution is necessary, or would be practicable among ourselves, but the state of *Female Education* is one that well deserves a serious and comprehensive inquiry.

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*Protestant Jesuitism.* By a Protestant. New York. 1836.

THIS is a strange and startling book, of which the main object seems to be to expose and hold up to public reprobation certain proceedings of the Temperance Society in the United States. The author declares, at the end, “there are principles asserted and defended in it, which not only convict the Temperance Society of being a ‘superfluity of naughtiness,’ but a public nuisance.” He had before said, at p. 103—106:—

“Far be it from the author to] desire that the old habit of using ardent spirits should become common again. Thus far he allows that the Temperance efforts have achieved a victory. Nevertheless, the victory has been won, not alone by unfair means and by force, but at an expense of virtue, of health, and of life, which stand over against the benefit in the array of a fearful odds. And this is not all: the system has driven thousands into the habit of secret drinking, which, in the great majority of instances, is likely to end in their ruin; so that it remains at least doubtful whether the number of drunkards has been diminished. And it has by its intolerance banished multitudes from the common pale of society, made them desperate, and cut them off from redeeming influences. Nearly all the advancements of the Temperance reformation have been forced—forced upon ground which cannot be maintained, because the public, when their eyes shall be opened, are not likely to submit to such a sway. The project of banishing wine, beer, cider, &c. entirely from society, is a wild

and vain scheme; and yet the cause of the Temperance Society, in its present position and relations, is staked on this contingency. It goes for the whole, under the risk of losing the whole. Extravagance heaped upon extravagance has pushed into an extreme, which can be maintained only by the perpetual accumulation and imposition of similar devices. Common sense, after all, will assert and recover its rightful dominion; the pride of self-government and the desire of self-respect cannot be annihilated, and will return with its claims; sobriety will outlive fanaticism; men will find that the best economy of society is, not to set every man a guardian over his neighbour, and commission him to hold perpetual inquisition over his private conduct and habits; but that every individual should stand upon the basis of his own personal virtue, panoplied with his own armour, be the keeper of his own conscience, holding the sovereign right and use of his own judgment, provided he does not encroach on the rights of his neighbour; and, in our opinion, they will find, moreover, that the machinery of the Temperance Society, as now organized, is inconvenient, impertinently obtrusive, creating artificial relations in society, which must always work badly, and which are alike destructive of social happiness as of personal virtue and strength of individual character. Even now the public have become so dependant on this factitious system, so enervated by its chains, that, if set at once at liberty, they would hardly know how to govern themselves. We have even reason to fear they would run into wild and dangerous excesses. Like slaves, incapacitated for the care of themselves by the habits of a long-protracted bondage and subjection to a master's will, a sudden emancipation might be injurious.

“The author is aware that the imputation of Jesuitism to this and some other associations of a kindred class, is a suggestion which ought not to be conveyed without good reasons. He does not, however, pretend, that it is a spirit of so heinous a character as that which actuated the school which gave birth to this name, in the height of its atrocities. He only means to intimate what he conscientiously believes, that associations originally organized among us under the motives of a commendable reforming spirit, have since discovered, in the height of their influence, that the public mind is susceptible of being subjected and swayed to almost any extent by institutions of this kind, artfully and skilfully managed; that the love of power has found a place with the spirit of doing good, and corrupted it; that conscience has not always and alone been consulted in the projects of these societies, but rather, and to a great extent, the means of acquiring influence; that the extravagance of new doctrines and false theories has detracted alike from the wisdom and virtue of these institutions, and tempted their leaders into unwarrantable experiments; that for the attainment of their objects, they have found it convenient and advantageous to adopt and practise the arts of political combinations; that they have employed unworthy and bad means for good ends; that religious sectarianism has been admitted to an improper influence, and extensively shaped their measures and controlled their operations; and that these and other faults have so vitiated these societies as to leave them deeply leavened with the appropriate spirit of

Jesuitism, so far as the character of the age and the state of society will admit."

Now, there is some truth and marrow in these remarks, although they may be charged with overstatement; and, *mutatis mutandis, exceptis excipiendis*, their truth is applicable to other than Temperance Societies. With respect to these themselves, we must regret—and, alas, *where* have we *not* reason to regret the same misfortune?—that a good cause is injured by the rashness and extravagance of its supporters. It does appear to us, that some of the assertions of the *Tee-Totallers* in England have been almost as preposterous as their name; nor is it a valid defence to argue that *Tee-Totallism* is, nevertheless, better than drunkenness. It does appear to us, that certain hot and misguided, though well-intentioned men, most intemperate in the prosecution of temperance, may, in the end, not merely bring ridicule on the sacred cause of sobriety, but may advance beyond, and even against, the letter and spirit of the Bible; and, without accusing the Saviour in so many words, like them of old, of being gluttonous and a wine-bibber, may lead to the inference that he did an injurious and unjustifiable thing, when he performed his first miracle of turning water into wine at a marriage-feast. Nay, what *can* be said—how can the true interests either of religion or temperance be consulted, when it is made to follow, as an inevitable conclusion from the premises, that it is improper, if not positively sinful, to use even a little wine at the Communion Table, in the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? Yet, let our readers observe, what is stated by clergymen and professors in America, themselves advocates of almost *total abstinence*, while they reprobate, by an appropriate appellation, "this '*go-a-head*' system, no matter how fast and how far." Thus,

"Dr. Reese said, in the progress of the debate on this resolution:—'There is no species of ultraism more to be deplored, or more treacherous and fallacious, than that which maintains that the taking of any quantity of alcohol, however diluted or compounded, is *malum in se*—is necessarily and in all circumstances a moral offence; especially when this doctrine is looked at in connexion with moral science. It is greatly to be deprecated, that Temperance Societies should attempt to exercise prerogatives which do not belong to them. I conceive that this Convention is wholly unauthorized to give any decision on such questions. They are questions in moral science, and do not pertain to us. We are not here to pass resolutions of denunciation, and send them forth as so many Popish bulls, or ecclesiastical anathemas denouncing our fellow-men—men as upright and as conscientious as ourselves . . . . . It has here been distinctly avowed, that the taking of one drop of alcohol in any form, is not only taking so much poison, but is in all cases a sin. And then we were entertained with a sapient comment on the conduct of our Saviour; and it was asked, with airs of triumph, whether it could be possible that Jesus Christ ever consecrated such a substance as alcohol to be the memorial of his death? And the allusion was carried fully out, and a blow openly struck at the use of wine in the Lord's Supper. . . . . Should this Convention suffer the resolutions that have already been passed to go out to the world, and take no

steps to avoid their being misunderstood [or rather, rightly understood] : . . . then, sir, the axe is laid at the root of the Temperance cause, and the Church of God and the ministers of his Gospel, throughout the length and breadth of this land, will be constrained, by their duty to God and their regard for his laws, to abandon you, and to raise their voice against what they believe to be a pernicious heresy, reflecting on Jesus Christ, and tending to subvert his ordinances." —pp. 255, 256.

The Rev. Professor Potter, too, declared. "If a man holds all use of wine in our own houses to be morally wrong, because wine is a poison, then he holds that any use of wine at the table of the Lord must be morally wrong, because it is as poisonous there as any where else. And the man who takes one drop of wine from God's table, goes so far towards poisoning himself; that is, he violates the law of God in the very act by which he obeys the last injunction of his Saviour. He cannot keep Christ's dying command without violating a primary law of his being; and so the very article which Jesus Christ selected and consecrated as the perpetual symbol in his Church of the blessings of salvation, was an article which contained poison! The Son of God selected, as the symbol of his own shed blood, and gave to be received and drunk by his disciples—*poison!*"—p. 259.

Such discussions, in themselves, have something painful and distressing to a Christian mind.

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*Sermons on Restitution, &c. by the Rev. Freidrich Strauss, D.D. Translated from the German, by Miss Lee. London. Wertheim. Scieley.*

WE hardly know in what place we ought to have mentioned this little work; but we may state here, that, looking at these Sermons, apart from the other labours of Dr. Strauss, we consider them, on the whole, powerful and impressive, though sometimes strange to our English ears; popular and practical, rather than speculative or philosophical; and, while containing little or nothing of abstract or doctrinal theology, speaking with skill and effect to the minds and consciences of a miscellaneous congregation.

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SEVERAL works have, as usual, arrived too late. As to *one* of them, we can only re-state our objection to recommend any *Congregational Hymn-Book*, which has not, *at least*, the sanction of the bishop of the diocese. The Memoir of "*Luther and his Times*," by Mr. Riddle, is the production of a diligent and learned student, and exhibits a striking portrait of a man, who, by the force of his talents and the energy of his character—to put all other circumstances for the moment aside—has exerted a vast and almost unrivalled influence in the Christian world. We forbear to say more at present: because, to the relations between Lutheranism and Church-of-Englandism, it may be deemed desirable hereafter to advert.

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# CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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THE conductors of the *Christian Observer* respectfully announce to their friends and subscribers, that they intend, on the first of January, 1838, to commence a **NEW SERIES** of that long established and approved periodical Publication. This measure does not originate in any change whatever in the proprietorship, editorship, or principles of the work. The present writers and correspondents consider it a privilege to continue to be associated in its pages with their departed friends and coadjutors, Mr. Wilberforce, Mrs. Hannah More, Mr. Henry Thornton, the Rev. Thomas Scott, the Rev. Dr. Jowett, the Rev. J. Venn, Bishop Heber, Mr. J. Bowdler, Mr. John Pearson, the Rev. John Owen, the Rev. Legh Richmond, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, the Rev. Henry Martyn, Lord Teignmouth, the Rev. C. Simeon, the Rev. John Scott, the Rev. Professor Farish, Mr. Babington, Bishop Burgess, and many others, whose writings have enforced, and whose lives have adorned, the gospel of their Saviour. They determine, God being their helper, to continue to advocate those essential doctrines of Christianity, and of our revered Church, for which our Reformers struggled, and our martyrs died,—such as the fall and ruin of mankind by nature; recovery by Divine Grace, through the atonement of Jesus Christ; Justification by Faith; the need of regeneration and turning to God; the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, and the duties and the blessedness of the Christian:—to support the cause of religious and charitable Institutions:—to uphold the powerful claims of our national Establishment: and to endeavour to present a wholesome monthly repast of useful and interesting fact and discussion, connected with matters of literature, science, and the affairs of Nations, under the guidance of Christian principles.

The proposed arrangement is chiefly with a view to convenience in introducing the work into new channels; there being a strong objection, upon the part of many persons, to commence taking in a periodical publication in the course of a series. Hence almost all such publications have adopted this measure; many far junior to the *Christian Observer* having had several new series; while few, if any, have proceeded so many years without one, as a starting point for new subscribers. The conductors of the *Christian Observer* have far more to be thankful for, than to complain of; for no periodical work was ever, perhaps, during so many years, less subjected to fluctuations; but at the same time it is obvious that in the course of thirty-six years a large proportion of its early friends and subscribers must have been gathered to their fathers; and though many new ones have successively taken their places, so that the work has always maintained a highly respectable standing; yet, amidst the vast accession of new publications, a steady effort is necessary upon the part of the friends of old ones to prevent their claims being forgotten. The commencement of a new series will afford those who approve in general of the principles of the *Christian Observer*, and consider it important that such a work should be firmly upheld, an opportunity of introducing it into families and reading-societies, where it is not at present known. Our Clerical friends, in particular, may render it essential aid, by recommending their lay acquaintance to take it in. A lay gentleman, who lately procured a considerable number of new subscribers in his own circle, from among persons who previously knew nothing of the work, states, that he has since received their thankful acknowledgments; and adds, that nothing is wanting but similar exertion upon the part of other friends and subscribers, to render it far more widely known, and to extend its usefulness. It is in this manner, that the circulation of a publication intended for instruction and edification

rather than for idle reading, must be chiefly sustained. "A young civilian," says Henry Martyn, in his journals recently published, "wished for advice, and promised he would begin the work of seeking his salvation : I lent him the first volume of the *Christian Observer*." Hannah More said, in recommending a selection from the *Christian Observer Family Sermons* : "The volume will be most acceptable to present to families in which the *Christian Observer* is hitherto unknown. I have taken the work from the very beginning, and I continue to prize it as highly as I have ever done, and count its *now long* range of volumes not among the least valuable part of my library." The late Mr. Wilberforce writes, on the same occasion, "Would you not also extract some other articles from the *Christian Observer* ? I know of no publication of the kind which contains so many of superior merit. I must rejoice in any circumstance which will be likely to draw it into augmented notice." Many pious foreigners have concurred in this opinion. Thus the lamented Baron De Staël, in recommending the work to the "*Société de la Morale Chrétienne*," says : "Le plus important des ouvrages que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer est la collection, dès le commencement, du *Christian Observer*, écrit périodique fort répandu en Angleterre, où il exerce depuis plusieurs années une grande et salutaire influence. J'ose croire que vous penserez, comme moi, qu'il serait fort important pour notre Société de recevoir désormais les numéros de ce journal à mesure qu'ils paraîtront." In like manner, Dr. Dwight, far from disapproving of a work which he considered useful to our common Christianity, because a Porteus and a Barrington thought it more especially useful within the pale of their own church, recommended its republication among his countrymen, concurring with the late Archbishop Magee, who left his testimony on record, that "it is distinguished" not only "for the talent," but "the *uprightness* with which it is conducted." Dr. Dwight's statement respecting the plan and conduct of the work was as follows : "I have taken this work from its commencement, and, throughout the whole of its continuance, have considered it as the best periodical publication within my knowledge. It has also been more uniformly supported than any other production of a similar nature. The religious doctrines countenanced by the Editor and his principal supporters are generally those of the Reformation." "The spirit which reigns in this work is, I think, singularly happy. Catholicism and zeal are, perhaps, no where more successfully united. The piety of the Gospel is here strongly as well as amiably displayed ; and even controversy is carried on without tarnishing the Christian character. The plan of the work includes Religious and Miscellaneous Communications, Reviews, Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, a View of Public Affairs, &c. &c. The heads are well chosen, and are filled up with advantage. The re-publication of this work in America is a public benefit."

These testimonies, which might be multiplied manifold, without alluding to the numerous attestations of living authorities, are not introduced in the confidence of boasting, but as an apology for urging the friends of the work to aid its circulation in their respective localities. No individual is pledged to every sentiment contained in a periodical publication ; and too well we know the many things that need to be forgiven in our own ; but in days like these there are certain broad lines of religious opinion, on the one or the other side of which the professed followers of Christ must range themselves ; for it is impossible to be neutral without a violation of Christian faithfulness.

And here then we may add another reason for commencing a new series of the *Christian Observer* ; for though the principles upon which it was constructed, so far as they are scriptural, are immutable, times have changed, and new duties have grown out of them. At the period when the conductors commenced their labours, war was desolating the present world ; while infidelity and irreligion, scarcely checked by counteracting influences, were spoiling men of their hopes of another. The Church of England had not then awakened to those zealous labours which now

so widely animate her members. The doctrines of the Reformation were very inadequately insisted upon by her clergy : and, with the exception of two or three of the older societies, reduced almost to the torpor of the surrounding mass, scarcely any thing was done to educate the poor, to send the gospel to the heathen, or to better the general condition of mankind. Our vast foreign possessions were almost destitute of religious instruction ; and the vessels which now leave our shores freighted with Tracts and Bibles and Missionaries, or with the productions of a peaceful commerce, were then seen bearing down with warlike equipments, or with chains and cruel arms to desolate Africa. On all these points the eye of a Christian Observer could not but be intently and painfully fixed ; and not a few of the pages of this work were devoted to matters connected with them. We live now, in many respects, in brighter days. Notwithstanding our many national sins and strifes, we have enjoyed more than twenty years' exemption from war : the slave trade and slavery are abolished ; and we have witnessed an increased attention to moral and political questions, with a view to better the condition of mankind ; and the extension of societies for the promotion of religious and benevolent objects throughout the world ; especially Bible, Missionary, and Educational institutions. Nor is it the least pleasing or important feature of the events which we have witnessed and recorded, that the clergy of our national Church have more decidedly enlisted themselves in increasing numbers under those Scriptural banners which our martyrs and Reformers delighted to bear ; and that of her laity, multitudes, influenced by Christian motives, aspire to promote the glory of God and the spiritual welfare of mankind, of which the numerous new Churches which gladden the land are one among many proofs.

But amidst these auspicious signs of the times, the enemy of souls has not been slack in sowing tares in our Lord's vineyard. In reference to this, there are two points, to which the attention of the reader is requested ; since to these, in addition to questions bearing upon "the common salvation," the pages of the Christian Observer have been, and will continue to be, devoted. The first is, *The defence of the Church of England against its impugnors* ; the second is, *The advocacy of its doctrines within its pale*. Both these objects were specially included in the original prospectus of the work. The desire of the conductors, it was said, is "to embrace information upon general subjects, with religious instruction, so as to furnish such an interesting view of religion, literature and politics, free from the contamination of false principles, as a clergyman may without scruple recommend to his parishioners, and a christian safely introduce into his family." The chief object of the work, it was added, is "to promote the increase of sound theological knowledge, and to delineate the character of primitive and unadulterated Christianity." The conductors, as members of the Established Church, proposed to discuss and uphold "the principles of that church, and to explain and enforce the pious tendency of her rites, ceremonies, and liturgy ;" at the same time avoiding those asperities of controversy which might diminish that Christian affection "which ought to unite the members of Christ of every denomination ;" and making it their constant aim "to cherish the affections of charity, piety, and fervent devotion, and to direct their fellow-christians in the paths of truth and righteousness."

These proposals immediately led to discussions, in part respecting "the common salvation ;" and in part concerning the two particulars above alluded to. In regard to the first, the defence of the Church of England,—the preface to the first volume stated that some churchmen "have complained of our manifesting too great mildness and conciliation towards dissenters and separatists ;" while, on the other hand, "some dissenters have charged us with being bigoted, persecuting churchmen, and have not only treated us as adversaries to the dissenting interest, but as the enemies of Christianity itself." In regard also to the second—the advocacy of the tenets of the Reformation within our own pale, especially the Scriptural doctrine of Justification by Faith—much discussion ensued ; and it was remarked, in the above mentioned

Preface, that "In respect to doctrine, we acknowledge no *supreme authority* but the Holy Scriptures, approving, at the same time, that exposition of them which is contained in the Articles, the Liturgy, and the Homilies of the Church of England."

These two discussions have continued ever since in our pages, as circumstances brought the questions forward. But never were they so necessary as at present. With regard to the first, the Dissenters have of late combined to raze the Church of England to the ground, as an unscriptural institution, which destroys more souls than it saves; and it is highly important that they should be met, not by harsh invectives, or by untenable claims derived from the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome; but in a Christian spirit, by sober and scriptural arguments, comporting with the Protestant Reformation and the principles of the Church of England. With regard to the second, notwithstanding the great increase of scriptural knowledge among our clergy and laity, zealous efforts are in progress to undo what God has so graciously effected in our church; not indeed by bringing us back to the spiritual torpor and gross ignorance which were so common thirty or forty years ago; but by setting up a system professing to be accordant with Catholic antiquity, but avowedly disclaiming to be Protestant, and only Anglican upon the plea that the articles of the Church of England, though they do not inculcate it, are so drawn up as not to oppose it. We have written so largely upon the doctrines alluded to, and have so much more to say upon them, that we need not dilate at present; all that we will add is, that however irksome may be the task of opposing these alarming errors, which are so diligently inculcated in various publications, we cannot conscientiously shrink from the onerous duty; and we trust we have some claim upon those who think that the labour which we have undertaken is important and useful to circulate our pages. We have no hesitation in admitting, that, in days like these, a work which, on the one side, supports the Church of England, and exposes the machinations of her opposers; and, on the other, upholds the scriptural doctrines of the Reformation according to the Articles of the Church of England, and opposes the innovations of that second school which endeavoured to engraft not a few of the doctrinal and practical delusions of Popery upon them; will continue to be assailed with so much perseverance, that the zeal of its friends will not be superfluous. We will only humbly repeat, after the long experience of thirty-six years, what we said in the Preface to our first volume: "Having engaged, as we think, in the cause of truth, piety, and charity, we rely on the Divine Providence to give success to our endeavours, and stability to our labours; nor are we either to be intimidated, or depressed, by the voice of indiscriminate censure, or the clamour of intemperate zeal. We feel no ambition to become the leaders of any party. We have no interests to serve but those of true Christianity; no schemes to prosecute, but those of making our fellow-creatures good subjects and good Christians; (and, we will add, good churchmen;) teaching them to fear God and honour the king." We entreat the prayers of our readers for us to Him

Whose frown can disappoint the proudest page;  
Whose approbation prosper even ours.

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THE widely extended circulation which THE CHURCHMAN has enjoyed ever since its commencement, renders it unnecessary to even state the principles upon which it has been hitherto conducted. But as it has now passed into other hands, and as a new and Enlarged Series is about to be presented to the Public, the present Proprietor, while tendering to its Subscribers the best thanks of its late Owner for their approbation of his disinterested labours, respectfully begs to give the assurance that it will still continue to illustrate and defend the holy principles of which it has ever been the firm and zealous advocate.

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
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[Those marked with an asterisk will appear in the Appendix.]

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